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## **Text-messages and social interaction : genre, norms and sociability in Greek SMS**

Spilioti, Thiresia

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**Text-messages and social interaction:  
genre, norms, and sociability in Greek SMS**

**Thiresia Spilioti**

Browning Scholar

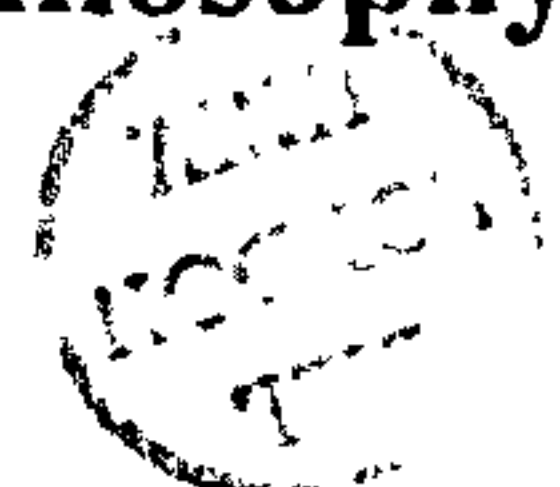
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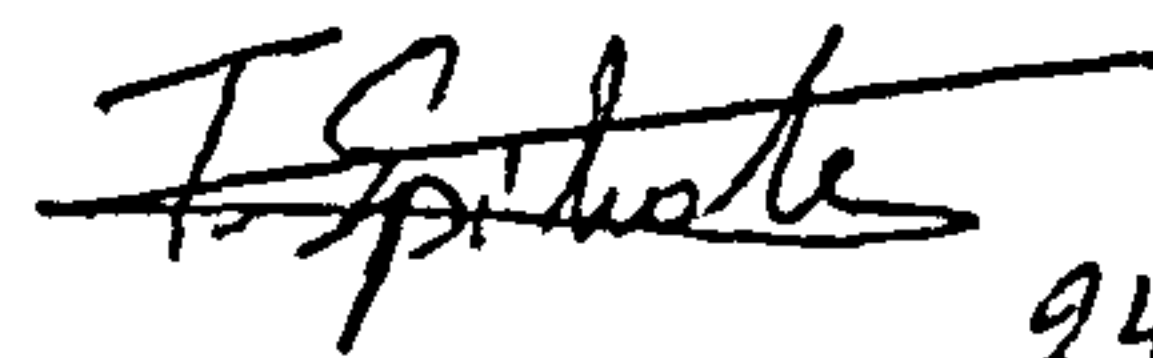
**Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**September 2006**



I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Thiresia Spilioti

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'T. Spilioti', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

24/05/2007

## Abstract

Text-messaging or Short Message Service (SMS) concerns the asynchronous, instant, and two-party exchange of digitally composed texts in an environment of mobile communication. Unlike previous sociolinguistic studies of SMS, this thesis sets out to explore text-messaging not only as individual texts but also as contributions to SMS-sequences, embedded in the participants' everyday interaction. The empirical data collected for this purpose concern primarily everyday exchanges of text-messages among participants who belong to the age group of 'youth' (15-25 years old, as defined in marketing campaigns of SMS) and live in urban centres (e.g. Athens, Greece).

Rather than presupposing a 'new SMS language', this study focuses on how users of text-messaging manipulate verbal and graphemic choices as resources in order to suit the interactional needs of the environment at hand. The graphemic representation of Greek SMS is explored in terms of the participants' use of alphabetical encoding, capitalization, and punctuation. The norm of Greek-alphabeted upper-case script in my data is discussed in relation to the medium's technological affordances and the participants' stance towards new media. At the same time, my findings indicate that unconventional graphemic choices, such as letter-shape alternation and multiple punctuation, operate as contextualization cues, compensating for the paucity of paralinguistic signals in SMS and indexing the participants' emotive stances. Moreover, the exploration of sequential patterns in Greek text-messaging reveals that the prototypical structure of 'opening-body-closing' orients to and co-varies with specific interactional issues, related to establishing contact, participants' relationships and SMS communicative purposes. Last, but not least, the focus of analysis shifts to the inter-relations between text-messaging and other social activities. The practice of topicalizing current location and ongoing activities is linked with social theory's concept of 'perpetual contact' and is demonstrated to foster a sense of 'co-presence at-a-distance' which sustains and reinforces social relationships between co-participants.



To my parents,  
for all their loving, caring, and soothing

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## List of abbreviations

ASCII	American Standard Code for Information Interchange
CA	Conversation Analysis
CMC	Computer-Mediated Communication
FtF	Face-to-Face
GSM	Global System for Mobile communication (originally, Groupe Speciale Mobile)
IEK	Vocational Training Institute (in Greek, <i>Ινστιτούτο Επαγγελματικής Κατάρτισης</i> )
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
NTUA	National Technical University of Athens (in Greek, <i>Εθνικό Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνείο, ΕΜΠ</i> )
SIM	Subscriber Identity Module
SMS	Short Message Service
TEI	Technological Educational Institute (in Greek, <i>Τεχνολογικό Εκπαιδευτικό Ίδρυμα</i> )
T9	Text on 9 keys (or predictive text entry)



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Note on transliteration

The transliteration of places and names follows the scheme introduced by the Library of Congress and employed in bibliographical coding. However, it is applied in this thesis with the following adaptations:

- (a) no indication of macron in η and ω; they are transliterated as i and o respectively;
- (b) the diphthongs μπ, ντ and γκ/γγ are transliterated as b, nd and ng respectively.

At the same time, the corresponding IPA symbols are included in the following table, because they will be used when acoustic/phonetic properties of written words are discussed. The words transliterated according to IPA conventions will appear in / /.

<i>Library of Congress transliteration scheme<sup>1</sup></i>				<i>IPA symbols<sup>2</sup></i>
<i>Upper-case</i>		<i>Lower-case</i>		
A	A	α	a	/a/
B	V	β	v	/v/
Γ	G	γ	g	/j/ before /e/, /i/ /ɣ/ before /a/, /o/, /u/
Δ	D	δ	d	/ð/
E	E	ε	e	/e/
Z	Z	ζ	z	/z/
H	I	η	i	/i/
Θ	TH	θ	th	/θ/
I	I	ι	i	/i/
K	K	κ	k	/c/ before /e/, /i/ /k/ before /a/, /o/, /u/
Λ	L	λ	l	/l/
M	M	μ	m	/m/
N	N	ν	n	/n/
Ξ	X	ξ	x	/ks/
O	O	ο	o	/o/
Π	P	π	p	/p/
P	R	ρ	r	/r/
Σ	S	σ (-ς)	s	/s/
T	T	τ	t	/t/
Υ	Y	υ	y	/i/
Φ	PH	φ	ph	/f/
X	CH	χ	ch	/ç/ before /e/, /i/ /x/ before /a/, /o/, /u/
Ψ	PS	ψ	ps	/ps/
Ω	O	ω	o	/o/

<sup>1</sup> cf. <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsa/romanization/greek.pdf> Accessed on 25 September 2006

<sup>2</sup> cf. the International Phonetic Alphabet table (revised to 1989) in Ladefoged (1993).



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## Introduction

The use of media enabling verbal contact among people who are not physically co-present is not a recent phenomenon in the history of human communication. Long before the late developments in personal communication technologies, the invention of writing involved the processing of different materials for the creation of appropriate writing surfaces and inscribing instruments. By virtue of these means, speech utterances could be recorded and communicated among people in different spatio-temporal settings. By the end of the nineteenth century, the invention of a new electronic device, i.e. the telephone, had revolutionised communication at a distance. More specifically, human voice could travel instantly to places miles away and in different time zones. Furthermore, while the telephone in the nineteenth century had changed ‘traditional’ perceptions of spoken interaction between physically co-present individuals, the use of computers and Internet in the twentieth century seem to have created new environments for social interaction. In such mediated environments, existing modes of communication have been found to be creatively employed and manipulated by participants in their attempt to interact among themselves.

This thesis focuses on text-messaging which has recently appeared as a new form of mediated communication within the area of mobile telephony. In particular, text-messaging (or Short Message Service, henceforth SMS) allows for instant, text-based, interaction among physically non co-present individuals. In other words, users of the particular technology compose small digital texts which can immediately reach the intended addressee. In fact, this channel of contact can be established, even when one party cannot anticipate the other’s whereabouts and activities. In sum, text-messaging



concerns the asynchronous, but instant, exchange of digitally composed texts between two, or more, persons in an environment of mobile communication.

Mobile telephony – and text-messaging, in particular – is a multi-faceted phenomenon and has been the focus of interest by a diversity of disciplines, including marketing and economics, electronic engineering, cultural and social studies (e.g. Katz & Aakhus, 2002a; Ling & Pendersen, 2005; Rheingold, 2002), social geography (e.g. Laurier, 2001), medicine, etc. Although financial and technological issues may be invoked in the discussion, this thesis is primarily a language-focused study which sets out to explore text-messages both as individual texts and as contributions to longer interactional sequences (i.e. as ‘texts-in-interaction’). The thesis’ preoccupation with issues of language and social interaction in text-messaging places the present study within the broader area of discourse analysis. Discourse analysts have widely embraced the idea that humans communicate through genres; that is, through recognizable text types or speech styles which exhibit distinctive constellations of inter-related and co-occurrent forms and structures. Within the context of my thesis, ‘genre’ is employed as a meta-concept which can bring together and reveal systematic co-patternings of formal, functional and contextual properties. In fact, the identification of a piece of discourse as text-messaging depends to a great extent on the participants’ ability to recognize – consciously or unconsciously - such systematic co-patternings. However, it should be noted that this thesis is not about ‘the language of text-messaging’, in the sense employed by folk linguistics and popular press. More specifically, the linguistic forms and norms discussed in the following chapters are not treated as fixed characteristics of the ‘SMS language’ but as resources that users of text-messaging creatively and strategically (re-)appropriate to suit the local

environment. In line with current advances in Computer-Mediated Communication (henceforth, CMC) research (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006; Danet, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Herring, 2004), the local environment does not only refer to technological aspects of the medium but also to a host of other contextual parameters, including the participants' relationships, their interactional history, national language ideologies, etc.

The developments of scientific research on telecommunications technologies and economic affluence facilitated the genesis of mobile telephony and its services, like text-messaging, in western societies such as the United States of America and the Scandinavian countries in Europe. However, mobile communication soon was spread to the rest of the globe in surprising and unpredicted ways. As reported in Katz & Aakhus's book (2002a) *Perpetual Contact: mobile communication, private talk, public performance*, the new mobile device has also been popular in post-communist East European countries (for instance, Bulgaria; cf. Varbanov, 2002) and widely employed in the Philippines, an Asian country where traditional landline telephony is still not a common commodity (cf. Strøm, 2002). Furthermore, this thesis attempts to investigate text-messaging in a different socio-cultural context: in Greece. Mobile phones appeared in this area in 1993 and soon became a fixture of everyday life. According to a survey of the National Committee for Telephony, in 2003 there were 9.8 million users of mobile telephony among the approximately 11 million inhabitants of Greece. These figures are indicative of the widespread use of mobile phones in a society which, at the same time, appears reluctant to embrace other new technologies, such as the Internet.



Moreover, the high penetration rate of mobile telephony in Greece (78%)<sup>1</sup> suggests that the new medium has become accessible to various social groups of different social or geographical background, age, and financial status. Nonetheless, both mobile phone operator companies and popular press have identified ‘youth’ as the most affected social group by mobile phones and text-messaging, in particular. Relating young people with new or non-standard linguistic and social behaviours has been a common theme both in popular and academic literature alike. However, current sociolinguistic research (cf. Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003) has stressed the need for more contextualized studies which will allow for heterogeneity within what is biologically defined as ‘youth’. In other words, age is only one among an array of parameters that might be relevant to the analysis of speech events among young participants. This thesis will attempt to explore language use in text-messaging by drawing upon everyday exchanges of messages among participants who belong to the age group defined as ‘youth’ and live in urban centres – in this case, in Athens.

Popular representations of text-messaging, as occurring in Greek newspaper articles, serve as the point of departure of this thesis. Acknowledging the socio-ideological load of folk views on language and interaction, chapter 1 explores newspaper representations of text-messaging in Greece and sets the stage for the culture-specific issues and concerns, voiced in local popular discourses. In turn, this chapter attempts to re-frame some of the issues invoked above in the context of relevant academic literature and, at the same time, to address the specific concepts and themes which will be discussed later in the thesis. The literature review extends beyond language-

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<sup>1</sup> According to statistics of the International Telecommunication Union, [http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/at\\_glance/cellular03.pdf](http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/at_glance/cellular03.pdf) (accessed on 25 September 2006), this percentage (78%) represents the penetration rate of mobile telephony in 2003. Considering that this rate increased to 90% in 2005, cf. [http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/at\\_glance/cellular05.pdf](http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/at_glance/cellular05.pdf) (accessed on 25 September 2006), it becomes apparent that we are dealing with a ‘mobile-saturated’ culture.

focused studies of text-messaging and the relevant area of CMC research by taking into account comparable sociolinguistic research on other forms of mediated communication, as well as drawing links with relevant concepts suggested by sociological and cultural studies of mobile telephony.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the presentation of the material collected for the purposes of this thesis and of the analytical framework employed in the data analysis. Before the description of the specific data sets and data collection techniques, methodological concerns regarding the collection of private, personal, and digitized messages are discussed. The data collection techniques employed in this study concern an anonymous questionnaire survey and three case-studies. Each technique, along with its relevant strengths and weaknesses, is presented and discussed separately. In addition, this chapter depicts formal properties of text-messaging, such as the technological specificities of the medium, the length and type of text-messages.

Part I of the thesis explores the graphemic representation of text-messages vis-à-vis writing norms. In particular chapter 3 will address the issue of alphabetical encoding in Greek SMS. The aim of this chapter is to investigate the choice of alphabet for encoding text-messages. The technological system allows for three types of encoding: (a) Greek script, (b) Roman script, and (c) mixed script, including both Greek and Roman characters. My findings reveal that the norm in Greek text-messaging corresponds to the standard practice of writing with Greek characters. This script norm is intimately linked to the technology affording such graphemic choices. However, the discussion of script in Greek text-messaging is not restricted to



technological issues, but it also takes into account the participants' stance towards new media and global youth cultures.

In a similar vein, chapter 4 focuses on the participants' use of typographic resources, such as upper- or lower-case letters, punctuation marks, and other printing symbols, in text-messaging. Considering that the graphemic representation of a written text is regulated by grammar books, this chapter investigates the extent to which writing practices in text-messaging differ from the conventions of standard writing in Modern Greek. Furthermore, it explores the purposes that these practices serve for in the local environment and it attempts to draw connections, where relevant, to emergent practices in digital writing, as suggested in CMC research. The data analysis reveals that unconventional graphemic choices operate as contextualization cues, compensating for the paucity of paralinguistic cues in SMS, resonating with topic boundaries and indexing the participants' gender and emotive stances.

Furthermore, part II shifts the focus of analysis towards issues of organization and social interaction in text-messaging. Chapter 5 sets out to look at how text-messages are organized in terms of sequential patterns. The investigation of the internal organization of individual text-messages demonstrates that SMS orients to the prototypical tripartite pattern of 'opening-body-closing', documented in other mediated genres as well. However, text-messages are explored not only as asynchronous, individual, texts, but also as contributions (turns) in quasi-synchronous, interactional sequences. As a result, the variation in the realization of the above tripartite structure is discussed in relation to the text's position in the sequence. In fact, the discussion reveals that the internal structure of a message orients

to specific interactional issues related to the establishment of contact, the maintenance of social relationships, and the topic of the text-exchange.

Finally, chapter 6 brings to the fore the issue of how text-messaging interacts with other social activities. More specifically, the analysis focuses on the participants' practice of topicalizing their current location and ongoing activities in which they engage at the time of texting each other. In terms of linguistic markers, this chapter is preoccupied with the participants' use of the formulaic expressions «πού είσαι» ('where are you') and «τι κάνεις» ('what's up'), and the use of place and time deictics. Furthermore, these references to the immediate setting are discussed in relation to the lived experience and interactional practices that my participants have accumulated through close and prolonged, face-to-face and mediated, interaction. This chapter concludes that the practice of topicalizing current location and ongoing activities fosters a mutual sense of 'co-presence at a distance', which is paramount for the close and intimate type of relationship that holds between the participants in my case-studies.

This thesis attempts to move away from technologically-determined explanations of language use in text-messaging. For this purpose, the discussion of generic norms in SMS takes into account different aspects of the local environment, including not only the medium's technological affordances but also the participants' relationships, their histories of friendship, the temporal ordering of activities, and the factor of mobility in interaction. The main contribution of the thesis is its parallel focus on text-messaging as individual texts with recognizable micro-linguistic features and structures and as 'texts-in/as-interaction' where the forms and norms identified above are tailored to

issues of social interaction and praxis. Although text-messaging, as also implied by its name, lends itself for looking at the inter-relations between ‘text’ and ‘text-ing’, previous studies of SMS have mainly focused on the former and overlooked the latter.



## **Chapter 1**

### **Popular and academic literature: framing the issues**

#### **1.1. Introduction**

The recent appearance of mobile communication as a social phenomenon, along with its extensive impact on everyday life, has resulted in the production of abundant folk views on the subject. In contrast, academic discourse seems to be lagging behind in observations and explanations of the specific phenomenon. This contrast in the production of folk versus academic discourse on mobile communication does not only apply to the case of Greece: a similar picture appears worldwide (cf. Katz & Aakhus, 2002b: 6; Thurlow, 2003b: 3). The aim of this chapter is to explore how popular and academic literature alike frames the issues which will be discussed in the thesis.

Although popular views on language are often dismissed by academics, recent approaches to language are not reluctant to take into account ‘commonsense ideas that speakers have about language and the social world of which it is a part’ (Hanks, 2005: 191). The preliminary examination of newspaper representations of text-messaging in Greece will provide insights into the culture-specific issues and concerns that popular discourses voice regarding the use of mobile telephony and text-messaging in particular. More specifically, it will be shown that the metalinguistic comments in newspaper publications converge into constructing and perpetuating the stereotype of a ‘new SMS language’.

Furthermore, the critical review of the relevant academic literature will argue that early language-focused studies of text-messaging (in Greek and other languages) have not always succeeded to depart from the above stereotype. Similar to early CMC research, these studies have been primarily preoccupied with the communicative functions that the new mode aims at fulfilling and the micro-linguistic features which have already been part and parcel of popular debates on SMS. Finally, the issues of genre, writing norms, sequential organization of interaction, sociability, and globalization will be addressed. More specifically, I will attempt to discuss these issues not only with regard to other studies of text-messaging and the relevant area of CMC studies but also in relation to comparable sociolinguistic research on other mediated<sup>1</sup> communication (e.g. telephone calls and letter-writing). In line with current developments in CMC studies, this thesis is aimed at providing a more contextualized account of text-messages in social interaction and, thus, will also take into account interactional approaches to language, as well as theoretical concepts developed in sociologically-oriented and cultural studies of mobile telephony.

## **1.2. Popular representations of text-messaging in Greece**

Although popular representations cannot compensate for the lack of a body of academic study, we should not discount the possibility that they might provide a window into issues which are important and relevant to the specific culture and society. As mentioned by Yung (2005: 352), ‘the discourse of mobile phones in everyday life reveals our sociocultural knowledge, assumptions, perceptions and

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<sup>1</sup> The use of the term ‘mediated’ here refers to technologically-mediated communication (cf. Scollon, 1998: 5-6).



attitudes toward technology'. In the field of linguistics, academics have been traditionally dismissive of folk views on language matters. However, Cameron (1995: xiii) insists on the significance of exploring metalinguistic popular views, 'for in order to displace the most powerful ideology there is, namely common sense, it is necessary to grasp its hidden principles and to understand the reasons for its enduring popular appeal'. Within the context of my thesis, the critical discussion of popular representations sets the stage in relation to which the analytical preoccupations of academic literature (see § 1.3) and my own research interests will be discussed. In other words, the following discussion aims to reveal on the one hand the issues presented as relevant to the Greek culture and society and on the other the ways in which the specific issues are framed in public debates about language in new media.

In the following sections (1.2.1-5), I will attempt to provide a critical discussion of popular representations of text-messaging occurring in a corpus of articles collected from Greek newspapers. More specifically, I will argue that newspaper publications primarily focus on the non-standard properties of 'SMS language', which is assumed to have been created and developed among the 'default' users of the new medium, i.e. the youth. The following discussion will draw on metalinguistic views of language use in text-messaging as expressed in the relevant publications. In addition, I will examine popular assumptions regarding other social and cultural aspects of text-messaging and mobile phone culture which are relevant to such meta-linguistic comments.



### **1.2.1. Popular representations and newspaper discourse**

Media material (press, broadcast media, internet, etc) is a rich source of popular discourse on text-messaging. As Bell (1995: 23) points out, the mass media play an important role in shaping, representing and reproducing people's views and attitudes towards language. Although it is not the case that media representations can always be identified with popular representations and concerns<sup>2</sup>, the investigation of such material may, indeed, indicate patterns of social meanings and stereotypes of text-messaging use, which are projected through the media in the Greek culture and society.

More specifically, the material employed in the following analysis concerns articles from the Greek press. The proliferation of comments on language issues in the press is striking and seems to arise from the common assumption - underlying folk linguistics - that everyone who speaks is entitled to comment on language (Aitchison, 2001: 614). However, in the case of Greece, there is a long-standing tradition of press publications on language matters. As argued by Moschonas (2001: 85), comments on language issues appear regularly in the Greek press. Such publications are part of a 'prolonged press routine' and may occur in the form of language-focused columns, e.g. columns regarding the 'correct' use of Greek language (cf. 'διορθωτική επιφυλλίδα'; Moschonas, 2001: 94) or 'accidental comments' (cf. 'συμπτωματική αναφορά'; Moschonas, 2001: 98) in other regular columns on current affairs. Apart from these 'routine' publications, a specific event related to language matters (for

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<sup>2</sup> Hobsbawm (1990) argues that views expressed in the media do not represent popular beliefs and attitudes, since they come from people who belong to particular elite groups (journalists, academics, writers, etc.) and thus represent particular ideological standpoints.

instance, ‘Lamassoure’s<sup>3</sup> project’) can trigger a series of articles on the particular issue, creating thus a public debate which often has the character of a ‘crusade’ or a ‘national dispute’.

This intense preoccupation of the Greek press with language per se should be considered within the local socio-historical context. Public debates over language issues are not a recent phenomenon in the history of Greece. The need for establishing a national language for the newly born Modern Greek state in the mid nineteenth century resulted in a situation of ‘diglossia’. Ferguson (1972: 232) introduces the term ‘diglossia’ in order to describe in broad terms ‘one particular kind of standardization where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play’. For more than a century (until 1976) the linguistic situation in Greece was marked by the parallel use of ‘Katharevousa’, the official language which was closer to ancient Greek and employed in institutional settings (administration, education, etc.), and ‘Demotic Greek’, spoken by Greeks in their everyday life. However, as early as the late nineteenth century, this linguistic divide was transformed into a political and ideological split. Thus, the language conflict was related (Frangoudaki, 2001: 120-124) to ideological confrontations between supporters of ‘Katharevousa’, considered as more conservative, and supporters of ‘Demotike’, regarded as more liberal and progressive. This conflict over the ‘language question’ was brought to an end in 1976 with the official establishment of a standard (‘koine’) Modern Greek language, which was primarily based on the spoken variety of ‘Demotike’. However, language issues have not ceased to preoccupy public debates in the Greek press and media, in general.

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<sup>3</sup> Alain Lamassoure, French former minister for European Affairs (1993-1995), suggested that the European Union should consider decreasing the number of working languages from eleven to five. This suggestion has spurred many reactions in Greece.



The significance of the local socio-cultural context in the construction of meaning in popular representations has been pointed out by studies<sup>4</sup> in the area of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This critical approach to the analysis of language and ideology has been extensively employed in the study of media and, particularly, newspaper discourse (Garrett & Bell, 1998: 5; van Dijk, 1998; Androutsopoulos, 2001: 176). CDA approaches newspaper discourse as social practice; that is, it assumes that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and society in the sense that discourse is shaped by society and, at the same time, partly constitutes society. Within this framework, the grammatical choices and discursive practices used in the articles under consideration are meaningful and may have ideological effects, as they construct culture-specific social meanings of mobile communication and articulate together particular representations of text-messaging use. Thus language in newspaper discourse works ideologically in ways often unclear and opaque to the readers. Another important premise of CDA is that discourse is historical; that is, it is situated historically within a particular sociocultural context and at the same time invokes and evokes the production of other discourses. As Fairclough & Wodak (1997: 276) argue,

Discourse is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration [...] Discourses are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier, as well as those which are produced synchronically and subsequently.

As a result, metalinguistic comments on language use in text-messaging cannot be discussed in isolation to the Greek 'tradition' of routine publications on language matters in newspaper discourse. In line with a critical discourse analytic perspective,

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<sup>4</sup> For a summary of the main assumptions underlying Critical Discourse Analysis, see Titcher et al. (2000: 146) and Fairclough & Wodak (1997: 271-280).

the following discussion draws on the assumption that the production of such discourses is intimately linked to the local socio-historical context outlined above.

As shown in appendix I, the material collected concerns 31 articles published, from 2001 to 2003, in four Greek newspapers, namely *To Vima* (7 articles), *Ta Nea* (8 articles), *Eleftherotipia* (8 articles), and *Kathimerini* (8 articles). The relevant material has been recovered through the search engines of the newspapers' online editions. The specific newspapers are published daily and circulate all over Greece; *Ta Nea* and *Eleftherotipia* are evening newspapers, whereas *Kathimerini* is a morning paper. Although the traditionally Sunday's paper, *To Vima*, has been circulated daily since 1999, constraints on data collection<sup>5</sup> forced me to take into account only the online Sunday edition of the paper. There are two main reasons for selecting the particular journals<sup>6</sup> as representative of newspaper representations on text-messaging use, and language use in particular; first, their wide circulation and second, the high frequency of publications on language matters. According to Moschonas' survey (2001: 91), over a three-month period (01/11/1999-31/01/2000), 41% of the 364 coded publications on language matters came from the above four newspapers.

The popular representations of text-messaging explored below have been found in articles dealing with issues of popular culture (2 articles); in particular mobile phone culture (14 articles), digital culture (1 article), and youth culture (2 articles) or a combination of the above (5 articles). Language and its relationship with the above

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<sup>5</sup> One can have access and search online only the Sunday issues of *To Vima*.

<sup>6</sup> In terms of their political orientation, Chatzisavidis (2001: 145) argues that these four newspapers are not (at least explicitly) identified with either right or left wing ideologies. However, there is variation in the socio-economic profile of each paper's expected readership: *Kathimerini* and *To Vima* have been associated with a readership of middle class, well-educated, background, whereas *Ta Nea* and *Eleftherotipia* have a more popular appeal, attracting people from lower socio-economic status as well.



instances of popular culture appear as the main topic<sup>7</sup> in the other, seven, articles. The publications under consideration cover a variety of newspaper genres, such as news reports, opinion articles, interviews, etc. As shown in appendix I, the material collected has been further categorised into two broad genre categories: news-oriented articles and opinion-oriented articles (see Moschonas, 2001: 99-100, for a similar classification). Although the boundaries between these two categories are not clear-cut or definite, and news-oriented articles may include opinion and vice versa, the relevant distinction will be kept for analytical purposes. More specifically, drawing on the articles' classification by the newspapers online, we identify as news-oriented (22 articles) any articles which appear as news or surveys' reports within the sections covering current affairs in Greece and abroad. On the other hand, interviews and regular columns from regular collaborators (usually the editors or non-journalists, such as academics, politicians or writers) commenting on current issues are classified as opinion-oriented articles (9 articles).

### **1.2.2. SMS as 'the youth tool'<sup>8</sup>**

Mobile phones and text-messaging are very popular in Greece. According to published national surveys, in June 2003 there were 9,800,000 mobile phones in use. Considering the total population of Greece at the time (c. 11 million), this figure suggests that mobile telephony has penetrated almost every social group, regardless of

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<sup>7</sup> For an overview of the main topic that each article discusses, see appendix I.

<sup>8</sup> The expression 'the youth tool' is borrowed from a brochure (November 2002) by Cosmote (Greek mobile phone operator company) advertising a new price plan, called 'what's up' (see appendix II). The specific plan offers low cost SMS service and explicitly targets young people, as portrayed in the logo *KAPTOKINHTH THΛEΦΩNIA ΓΙΑ ΝΕΟΥΣ* 'pay-as-you-go mobile telephony for young people' employed in Cosmote's previous brochure for the same plan (June 2001 in appendix II).

age, gender, socio-economic or geographical background. However, it is not the case that all social groups are equally portrayed as keen users of mobile telephony and text-messaging in the relevant newspaper publications.

In fact, despite the widespread use of mobile phones, the articles under consideration seem to consistently associate mobile phones and text-messaging with a particular social group: young people and, more specifically, adolescents. The mobile phone is presented as a ‘fetish<sup>9</sup>’ and a ‘youth symbol’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001). Young people appear to have played a pivotal role in the expansion of mobile phone to the rest of the society (*Ta Nea*, 11/05/2002). However, what differentiates them from the other social groups is supposed to be their unique use of mobile phones; contrary to older people who are represented as ‘using their mobile primarily for business and family purposes’, the young prefer more personal and ‘less mundane’ uses (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001).

As for text-messaging in particular, ‘it is a rapidly developing means of communication, particularly amongst the youth’ (*Kathimerini*, 29/06/2003e). Adolescents are assumed to be the first who discovered and developed the affordances of the new service, i.e. Short Message Service or SMS (*Ta Nea*, 11/05/2002). Such representations are constructed in the newspaper articles through the use of cultural images depicting young people constantly sending text-messages to each other (*To Vima*, 07/01/2001). For instance, the picture of young people checking their incoming text-messages and their phone’s reception in a leisure setting, before even addressing

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<sup>9</sup> Quotation marks indicate that the specific words are translations of the original quote in the article. Exact, i.e. not translated, quotes from the data are indicated in the text with italics.



a word to each other, is supposed 'to be extremely common in Greece' (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001).

The employment of cultural images like the one cited above seems to play an important role in the rhetoric of articles concerning text-messaging use amongst the youth. Such images are employed as if 'we are all familiar with the picture of young people keying in their texts on their mobiles at an extreme speed' (*Eleftherotipia*, 22/01/2003). In such instances, the use of the first plural pronoun ('we') seems to create a sense of familiarity between the producers and readers of the specific articles and, thus, to naturalize these cultural images as common sense observations. At the same time, other social groups, such as young people's parents, are also presented to 'get annoyed watching their sons and daughters over the keypad of a mobile phone' (*Eleftherotipia*, 29/03/2001).

Apart from the above lay views on young people's use of text-messaging, popular representations in the newspapers are reinforced by the use of expert discourse. Reporting statistics and results from academic (*To Vima*, 22/12/2002) or commercial surveys on youth and/or mobile phone culture is a common practice, particularly among the news-oriented articles under consideration. At the same time, the voice of the experts is not absent from opinion-oriented articles. The voice of professionals from the area of mobile telephony is prevalent in the data in the form of interviews or quotes within the articles (*To Vima*, 22/12/2002). Academics are also identified as legitimate contributors to the debate over mobile phone culture. For instance, in *Kathimerini's* (29/06/2003a, b, e) extended report on mobile phones, M. Cheretakis, M. Santorineos, and T. Stalikas are presented with their professional identity as

‘reader in the department of mass media and communication at the University of Athens’, ‘lecturer in the school of fine arts’, and ‘reader in clinical psychology’ respectively, in their contributions (short opinion-articles) on different aspects of mobile phone culture.

On the other hand, it is striking that young people - the protagonists in contemporary mobile phone culture, according to the representations above – seldom have the opportunity to speak directly in the articles discussed. Out of the total corpus, their actual voice is heard only twice in direct speech (*Kathimerini*, 29/06/2003d; *Ta Nea*, 03/10/2002). Thus, newspaper representations of young people using text-messaging are primarily based on folk views from the perspective of other social groups, such as parents, academics, professionals in the area of mobile telephony, etc. The latter seem to construct a ‘text generation’ (γενιά των κειμένων, *Eleftherotipia*, 29/03/2001) - young people between 15 and 25 years old<sup>10</sup> - which is assumed to be fascinated by new technologies and, in particular, mobile phones.

‘Text generation’ appears under different names in the data; such as ‘thumb generation’ (γενιά του αντίχειρα; *Ta Nea*, 27/05/2002), ‘the children of the digital era’ (τα παιδιά της ψηφιακής εποχής; *To Vima*, 09/11/2003), ‘the message generation’ (η γενιά των μηνυμάτων; *Eleftherotipia*, 29/03/2001), ‘the new people of the... new era’ (οι νέοι άνθρωποι της... νέας εποχής; *Eleftherotipia*, 22/01/2003), ‘the children of the digital revolution’ (τα παιδιά της ψηφιακής επανάστασης; *Ta Nea*, 03/10/2002). The use of such generic terms in newspaper discourse seems to contribute to the

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<sup>10</sup> Here, newspaper discourse seems to follow the marketing classification of target groups. According to Panafon’s marketing brochure (November 2001, see appendix II), people between 15 and 25 years old form a distinct target group which corresponds to the notion of ‘youth’.



establishment and reproduction of the representations of youth as a distinct and homogeneous social group.

The idea that young people and mobile phones are inherently associated is so prevalent that those who are young but do not have a mobile are presented as exceptional cases. For example, *Kathimerini* (29/06/2003d) dedicates one page to quote the words of four young persons on aspects of mobile phone culture. However, there is variation in the presentation of each person. More specifically, the three users of mobile telephony appear in a picture (which covers half the page) and are introduced by their names (Alexandros, Irini, and Vasilis). In contrast, the fourth young person is not shown in any picture and is introduced by the phrase ‘Jannis doesn’t have a mobile!’, ending with an exclamation mark and, thus, underlining the peculiarity of the case (see appendix II).

The above representations enhanced by the use of cultural images contribute to the establishment of the popular view that young Greeks are obsessed with the phenomenon of mobile telephony and text-messaging, in particular. This generalization, which views young people as a distinct and homogeneous social group, is supported in newspaper discourse both by laypeople and experts alike. However, such popular views are not only a Greek phenomenon. Thurlow (2003b: 1-3), in his paper on older<sup>11</sup> teenagers’ use of text-messaging, points out similar representations in British popular discourse. Although he does not attempt a systematic investigation of newspaper discourse, we can infer from the cited extracts the use of parallel strategies, such as generic terms; cf. for instance ‘Generation text’

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<sup>11</sup> The participants in Thurlow’s (2003b) study concern first-year students of a Language and Communication class at Cardiff University (mean age: 19-yr-old).

(Thurlow, 2003b: 3) to ‘text generation’ (γενιά των κειμένων; *Eleftherotipia*, 29/03/2001). A similar picture is also drawn by Kasesniemi & Rautiainen (2002) in their discussion of mobile culture among children and teenagers in Finland. In the latter’s case, however, statements like ‘Text-messaging, like TV and the Internet, has established itself as part of the adolescents’ everyday life as a teenager’ (Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002: 171) appear as the researchers’ assumption. In contrast, the above discussion of popular representations in Greece aims, in line with Thurlow’s view, at presenting and problematizing the ‘naturalness’ of such generalisations concerning the youth’s text-messaging use.

### 1.2.3. SMS as an emergent non-standard variety

In this section the focus will turn to popular representations of language use in text-messaging as evidenced in the articles under consideration. Although seven articles have a topic directly linked to language matters, the following analysis will not be limited to the specific articles. In fact, metalinguistic comments on language use in text-messaging from any of the collected publications will be taken into account. Overall, language use in text-messaging is represented as a ‘new language’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 29/03/2001). According to newspaper representations, this ‘language of text-messaging’ (η γλώσσα των μηνυμάτων; *Eleftherotipia*, 29/03/2001) exhibits certain characteristics. In the following paragraphs, I will present the specific linguistic features attributed to this new language variety in the particular articles.



First, language use in text-messaging is assumed to be delivered in the written mode, as evident in phrases like ‘written discourse of SMS’ (*γραφτός λόγος των SMS*; *Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001) and ‘mobile written discourse’ (*γραφτός κινητός λόγος*; *Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001). It is, thus, presented as an emergent written variety of Modern Greek. Such representations seem to invoke folk linguistic views which draw a clear-cut distinction between spoken and written discourse. This view, which goes back thousand of years<sup>12</sup>, seems to be oblivious to recent developments in the field of linguistics which move beyond dichotomies between modes of interaction and suggest a continuum of spoken and written discourse, incorporating other electronic media, such as text-messaging, in this continuum (Georgakopoulou, 2001: 304; Tannen, 1982: 1-16).

On the other hand, newspaper representations claim that technological media tend to introduce the use of English into Greek language. In particular, they argue that there is a preference for the use of Roman, rather than Greek, characters in text-messaging (*Ta Nea*, 16/01/2001). ‘Greeklish’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001), i.e. the Roman-alphabetized Greek, is presented as a common practice among young ‘text-messagers’. At the same time, ‘anglicisms’ (*αγγλισμοί*; *Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001) in terms of loan words or abbreviations and acronyms<sup>13</sup> are supposed to abound in Greek text-messaging.

Furthermore, ‘the language of text-messaging’ is represented as a non-standard variety of Modern Greek, which does not follow the rules of conventional writing. More specifically, ‘punctuation marks, lower-case letters and traditional/historical

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<sup>12</sup> In Plato’s dialogue *Phaedrus* (ch. 274-277) Socrates presents the relationship between spoken and written discourse as a dichotomy with separate features attributed to each mode.

<sup>13</sup> As will be mentioned below, *IDN* (‘I don’t know’), *GR8* (‘great’), *cul* (‘see you later’), etc. are among the English abbreviations young people in Greece are supposed to use in text-messaging.

orthography' appear as 'obsolete' phenomena, no longer in use in text-messaging (*Kathimerini*, 29/06/2003c; *Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001). At the level of syntax and morphology, language use in text-messaging appears to deviate from the rules of standard language in omitting prepositions and grammatical endings (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001). At the same time, a popular assumption in the newspaper articles is the elimination of vowels in text-messaging. To employ a title of one of the articles in question, young people send text-messages 'wtt vwls'<sup>14</sup>, i.e. 'without vowels' (*Χρς φωννττ*, i.e. 'Χωρίς φωνήεντα'; *Ta Nea*, 21/05/2002).

As denoted by the name of the mobile service (Short Message Service), limitations of the system itself (see § 2.2.1, for systemic specificities of text-messaging) result in the production of short messages. Therefore, users are supposed to 'turn to coded expressions' (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001, 31/01/2001; *Ta Nea*, 21/05/2002), in order to compensate for the system's shortcomings. Apart from the systemic limitations, psychological and inherent characteristics of youth are assumed as playing a role in their preference for shortenings in text-messaging (*Eleftherotipia*, 29/03/2001). At the same time, texts are represented as 'laconic' (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001).

The use of a new medium also appears to call for the creation of new words and phrases by its users. Thus, the invented, 'new terminology' (*νέα ορολογία*; *Eleftherotipia*, 29/03/2001) includes phrases, such as 'he/she made (him/her/it/them) delete', 'I'll get deleted', and 'I texted you' («έκανε delete», «θα βρεθώ στα

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Fromkin & Rodman's cartoon (1983: 47), where two cavemen in their attempt to communicate produce the following string of sounds 'f w wnt t tlk rlly gd, w'll hv t nvnt vwls' (meaning 'if we want to talk really good, we'll have to invent vowels'). This joke about phonetics, written at least a decade before the invention of SMS, can easily target the 'cavemen' of today, since young people are also represented as dropping their vowels in their text-messages.



διαγραμμένα»<sup>15</sup>, and «σου 'στειλα μήνυμα γραπτό»; *Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001).

Among the new words and phrases, quoted in the articles, appear also neologisms, like *ο κινητάκιας*, i.e. 'mobile-aholic', or *ο μηνυματάκιας*, i.e. 'SMS-aholic' (*To Vima*, 15/06/2003).

Moreover, verbal expression in text-messaging appears to draw on the use of abbreviations (*To Vima*, 09/11/2003; *Kathimerini*, 29/06/2003c; *Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001). For example, abbreviations like *xo xo xo xo* (meaning 'hugs and kisses'), *IDN*<sup>16</sup> ('I don't know'), and *GR8* ('great') are quoted in the articles (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001). Acronyms like *cul* ('see you later') and *f2t* ('free to talk') are also used, according to popular representations, in Greek text-messaging (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001). From the above examples it becomes evident that the formation of such abbreviations is based on combining symbols with numbers. Little icons or emoticons also appear as an important non-verbal source in the production of text-messages (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001, 29/03/2001). For instance, smileys such as :- ) are used 'to end a joke written in SMS' (*Kathimerini*, 09/03/2003).

Language use in text-messaging is represented as a 'new language variety' (*To Vima*, 09/11/2003), created by young people partly due to the limitations of the system, but mainly as a means of asserting their autonomy and differentiation from other social groups. In the newspapers, young people appear to have exclusive access either to technical knowledge regarding the use of new media or to communicative knowledge concerning the meaning of invented abbreviations (*To Vima*, 09/11/2003). The

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<sup>15</sup> Meaning, literally, 'I will be found among the deleted messages' and, metaphorically, 'I will be forgotten and/or neglected'.

<sup>16</sup> As mentioned before, italics show that the specific words are exact (not translated) quotes from the data.

properties attributed to the ‘language of text-messaging’ and, particularly, the innovations in terms of vocabulary and morphology, support the popular view of text-messaging as another type of ‘youth slang’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001). The focus of such representations on language formal and structural characteristics is reminiscent of the rhetoric employed in the previous decades about youth language in Greece. According to Iordanidou & Androutsopoulos (1999: 593-594), newspaper publications between 1987 and 1994 also preferred to provide tokens of vocabulary choices from youth language, while other aspects of language were underrepresented. In the same vein, the above representations of language use in text-messaging draw attention to aspects of vocabulary, like the creation of new words or the incorporation of loans. In addition to vocabulary choices, however, we have documented that popular discourse on text-messaging focuses on the use of punctuation, spelling, and emoticons, i.e. to linguistic choices which appear only in the written medium. In contrast, the public debate on youth language, as evidenced in Iordanidou & Androutsopoulos’ study (1999), did not seem to attend to the use of such written features. Rather, the popular discourse about youth slang at the time was mainly preoccupied with the issue of ‘how young people speak’ or rather ‘cannot speak’ (‘αλαλία των νέων’).

Another theme arising from the consideration of the representations above is the popular view that mobile phones and text-messaging, in particular, are positioned among new technologies. We can infer that the linguistic features of text-messaging resemble considerably what is argued about the language of the Internet. Emoticons, non-conventional spelling and Greeklish, abbreviations and acronyms are typical characteristics of ‘jargon’, i.e. hackers’ slang (*Kathimerini*, 09/03/2003). Such

linguistic phenomena have also preoccupied research on computer-mediated communication (see § 1.3.2).

Another argument correlating with the claim that newspaper representations seem to frame text-messaging within the context of new media and technologies can be drawn from the previous section (1.2.2) concerning representations of youth as the ‘default text-messengers’. ‘Thumb generation’ – a term quoted in the articles (*To Vima*, 09/11/2003; *Ta Nea*, 27/05/2002) from ‘an international survey of the British University of Warwick’ – is represented as particularly keen in text-messaging and digital technologies, in general. More specifically, the uptake of text-messaging among the younger generations is associated with the youth’s ‘inherent’ characteristics of being more technologically adept and, thus, ‘addicted’ to new media (*To Vima*, 09/11/2003). In the articles, young people are represented as more prone to welcome and embrace new technologies and, thus, mobile telephony (*To Vima*, 22/12/2002).

Such an argument stems from the assumption that text-messaging is akin to other electronic media, such as computers and the Internet. Although one cannot deny the fact that SMS resembles other computer media in terms of systemic characteristics (typing on a keypad, screen, digital form), the a priori assumption that text-messaging is perceived by its users as a new mode of computer-mediated communication remains to be empirically tested. Problematizing this a priori assumption seems necessary considering that computer media in Greece are far less popular compared to text-messaging. According to published national surveys, in June 2003 only 19,1% of the population makes use of the Internet, whereas 78% own and use mobile phones.



#### 1.2.4. Positive and negative representations

In the previous section, the focus has been on the representations of language use in text-messaging (among young people). I have argued that the ‘language of text-messaging’ is represented in the articles under consideration as a distinct, non-standard, written variety of Modern Greek with particular linguistic characteristics (such as Greeklish, vowel-dropping, abbreviations, emoticons, etc.) In turn, the present section will focus on how text-messaging is evaluated in the relevant publications. In particular, I will look at positive and negative representations of text-messaging as an emergent, non-standard language variety and as a mode of communication and sociability. At the same time, I will consider the position text-messaging is supposed to hold with regard to standard Greek and the language ideologies invoked in the particular debate.

Starting on a positive note, the prevailing metaphor is that ‘text-messages may represent the modern haiku’ (*Kathimerini*, 29/06/2003; *Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001). The constraints imposed on the production of both genres (i.e. text-messages and haiku<sup>17</sup>) result in brevity of form and ‘laconic’ expression. However, the use of such a metaphor attributes to text-messaging qualities of artistic skill, ‘purity’ of expression, and ‘compressed’ meanings (*Kathimerini*, 29/06/2003). Furthermore, the written mode of delivery in text-messaging is supposed to make young people’s messages more ‘powerful’ and ‘fascinating’ (*To Vima*, 07/01/2001).

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<sup>17</sup> The term ‘haiku’ refers to a three-line, seventeen-syllable poetic form which was invented and developed over hundreds of years in Japan (cf. Kerouac, 2004).

Positive representations of text-messaging argue in favour of the ‘greatest revolution in correspondence since (the invention of) the stamp’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001). With mobile telephony communication is supposed to become ‘easier’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001) and ‘direct’ / ‘immediate’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/01/2001). At the same time, newspaper discourse celebrates the new modes of sociability enabled by mobile communication. Social relationships among young people are re-established in the mobile world, where friendship and intimacy can be sustained even at a distance (*To Vima*, 09/11/2003).

On the other hand, negative representations argue against the ‘poor’ language of text-messaging (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/02/2001) which includes ‘unintelligible Anglicisms’ (*αλαμπουρνέζικους αγγλισμούς*; *Eleftherotipia*, 31/02/2001) and ‘new abbreviations reminiscent of hieroglyphics’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001). Mobile phones are represented in the articles to have deteriorating effects on human communication. Young people’s fascination with mobile communication is popularly assumed to endanger their face-to-face interaction (*To Vima*, 09/11/2003). Although there are more opportunities for social contact, ‘the content of communication is impoverished’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001).

Quoting academics’ comments on mobile phone culture (e.g. George Myerson, ‘reader at King’s College London’; *Eleftherotipia*, 31/08/2001), journalists insist on the ‘transactional’, rather than ‘interactional’, nature of mobile communication and ‘exchanges’ appear more important than ‘dialogue’ in interpersonal relationships. Within this new era, ‘the human voice has been replaced by data’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/08/2001) and ‘real communication’ (*αληθινή επικοινωνία*; *Eleftherotipia*,



31/08/2001) is substituted by ‘the exchange of 20 or 30 messages per hour’. In other words, mobile communication is represented as oriented to the achievement of specific goals. Popular representations regarding the reduction of linguistic forms and structures in text-messaging (see § 1.2.3) seem to contribute in creating a picture of poor, goal-oriented, communication, where ‘you say the least in order to achieve your goal as soon as possible’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/08/2001). Furthermore, immediacy in text-messaging - in terms of minimum time lapse between two exchanged messages – is also assumed to impoverish communication, since it encourages responses ‘without thinking’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/08/2001). Therefore, mobile communication and text-messaging, in particular, create among young people a ‘pretence’ of being engaged in multiple social contacts (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001).

The relationship between ‘emergent, nonstandard [...] varieties’ and ‘mainstream standards’ has been described, in the literature (Johnson, 2002: 552-553), as tense, thus offering unique opportunities ‘for observing the production of ideologies’. In the articles under investigation we have observed instances where text-messaging is presented within a context of being at odds with standard Modern Greek. At the level of vocabulary, the new words and phrases, mentioned in § 1.2.3, are integrated into our everyday language (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001). On the other hand, the use of abbreviations and acronyms is represented as a symptom of a regression of written language which appears to compete with the literacy of ‘cavemen’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 20/07/2001). In the same vein, written language is assumed to suffer ‘losses’ from the use of text-messaging (*Ta Nea*, 21/06/2003).

The latter polemical representations seem to contribute to the creation of a ‘moral panic’<sup>18</sup> setting regarding text-messaging use in Greece. Young people are presented as the protagonists in this setting. As argued above (see § 1.2.2), popular representations identify the particular social group as the default users of text-messaging and, thus, construct them as the ‘scapegoat’ which will ‘bear the brunt of hostility and blame’ (Cameron, 1995: 83) for the decay of Greek language. Within the context of ‘moral panic’ discourse, the articles in question include suggestions (*To Vima*, 09/11/2003) regarding the appropriate future course of action which may prevent imminent catastrophe, ‘a future where anyone claims that he/she communicates without, though, truly communicating with the others’ (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/08/2001). In particular, academic research is expected to offer useful insights into the phenomenon of mobile telephony and, thus, help to minimize losses in the area of human communication (*Eleftherotipia*, 31/08/2001).

However, the presentation of language issues in the context of ‘moral panic’ is certainly not a recent phenomenon in the history of Greece. As mentioned above (see § 1.2.1), the language issue of diglossia (Katharevousa vs. Demotic) with its ideological and political implications had been the cause for a long and heated public debate which exhibited properties of moral panic discourse, as defined by Cameron (1995). On the other hand, the debate over language use in text-messaging is produced under socio-historical circumstances which differ significantly from those of the past. What is at stake now is not the official language of the state, and thus the

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<sup>18</sup> Cohen (1987) introduced the term ‘moral panic’. According to Cameron (1995: 82) who employs the specific term for language matters, ‘a moral panic can be said to occur when some social phenomenon or problem is suddenly foregrounded in public discourse and discussed in an obsessive, moralistic and alarmist manner, as of it betokened some imminent catastrophe’.



consolidation of the national identity of a newly emerged state, but rather the position of an assumed non-standard variety in relation to standard Modern Greek.

Nonetheless, the competing relationship between these two varieties, as represented in the above representations, seems to be reframed within the context of the language issue of diglossia<sup>19</sup>. Technology is represented as allowing external, non-Greek, elements to infiltrate the national language. Thus, the verbal use in text-messaging is reframed as endangering the purity of the Greek language and the national integrity of Modern Greece. This argument becomes appealing within a discourse of globalization which forces local cultures to revisit their national identity and their position in the newly-formed world. Text-messaging seems to pose a challenge to this attempt for re-definition of 'Greekness'. It is, thus, not in the least surprising that newspaper discourse resorts to arguments employed earlier in the debate over the use of Katharevousa and Demotic Greek in order to redefine their 'Greekness'.

#### **1.2.5. The 'new SMS language' myth**

According to newspaper articles (published in the Greek press between 2001 and 2003), popular views have been found to converge in presenting language use in text-messaging within a 'new language' rhetoric. More specifically, the 'new SMS language' is popularly conceived as having distinct linguistic features and structures. The relevant articles focus primarily on non-standard properties of SMS language such as the use of Greeklish, Anglicisms, upper-case script, erratic punctuation,

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<sup>19</sup> Similar findings can be found in the articles of Moschonas (2001) and Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou (2003) regarding other language issues debated in the Greek press.

emoticons, truncated syntactic structures and ungrammatical forms, etc. This popular fascination with the distinct and non-standard features of the new language is linked with relevant conceptions regarding the default users of the new medium.

It is by no means accidental that young people, as an entire homogenised group, represent the default users of text-messaging in the specific publications. Youth studies in social psychology (cf. Thurlow, 2003a: 51) have already suggested that adolescence – the ‘scapegoat generation’ in Males’ terms (1996) – has been recurrently portrayed as a distinct, technology-wise, social group mastering a language indecipherable to others. As pointed out by Thurlow (2003b: 2), media representations of text-messaging are generated by ‘the coming together of popular discourses about young people and about new technologies’. Indeed, the stereotype of a new ‘SMS language’ (see table 1.1), foregrounded in the Greek press, is placed in the intersection of existing popular representations regarding youth language (‘teenage slang’) and Internet language use (‘webslang’/ ‘netspeak’).

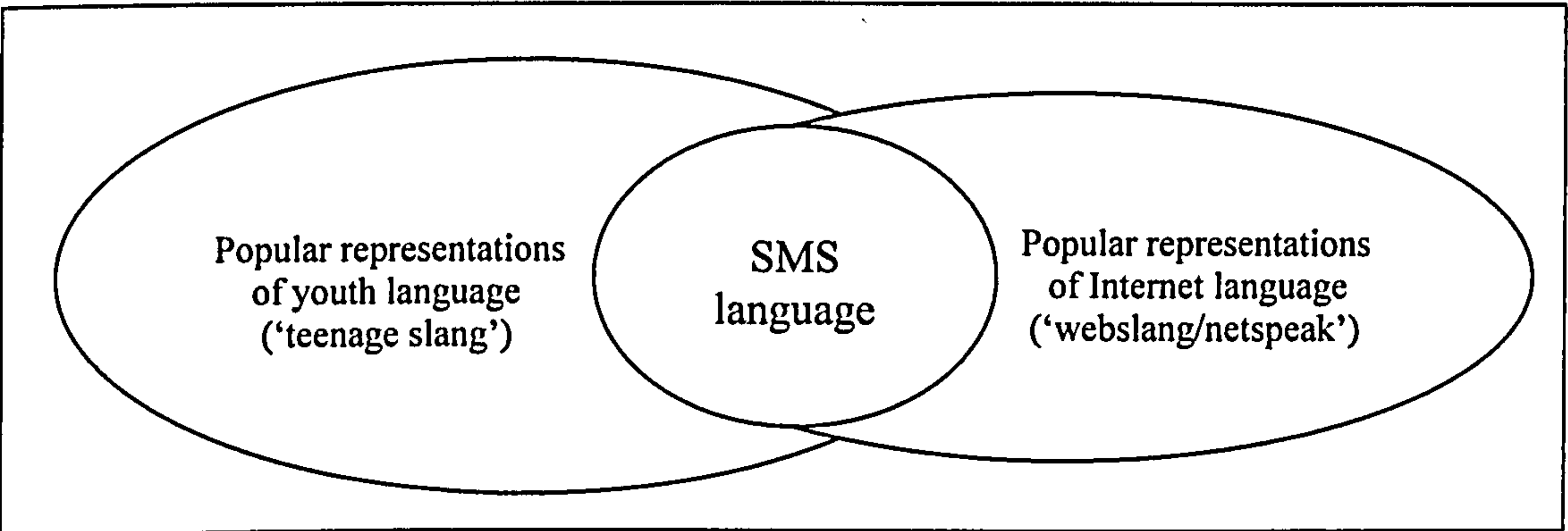


Table 1.1. The stereotype of ‘SMS language’

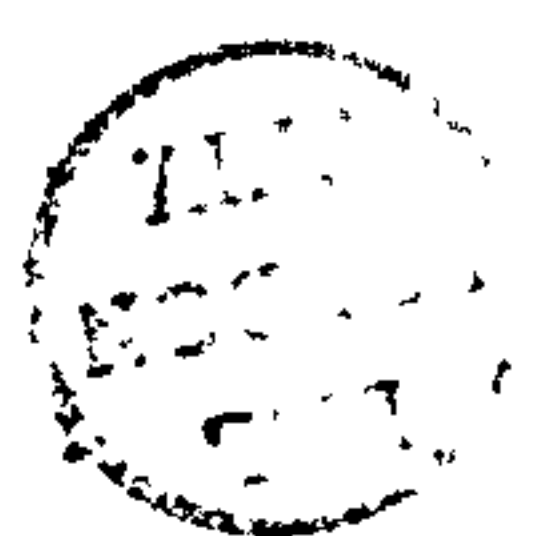
‘New language myths’ (Androutsopoulos, 2006: 420), such as the ‘new SMS language’, are constructed by the media in their attempt to address and interpret socio-cultural phenomena related to human interaction via new technologies. Such popular



conceptions, however, have a limited contribution to our understanding of diversity among young people and result in perpetuating stereotypical conceptions of language and communication in new media. As mentioned in § 1.2.4, the attitudes toward ‘the new language’ span from positive evaluations, which focus on the creative and artistic aspects offered by the new medium, to negative stances, which insist on the poor quality of a language produced within the setting of an impoverished, goal-oriented communication. The current thesis will attempt to draw on empirically collected data in order to put under scrutiny such popular views on Greek text-messaging. Despite the recent appearance of new technologies, empirical and contextualised studies can put such phenomena into perspective and, eventually, help to demystify the role of new media in our everyday social interaction.

### **1.3. Academic literature: re-framing the issues**

Having explored the popular frame of text-messaging – and, in particular, SMS language use – in Greek newspaper publications, I will attempt to reframe some of the issues invoked in the previous discussion in terms of the relevant sociolinguistic literature. More specifically, the few sociolinguistic studies of text-messaging will serve as a point of departure for the following review. I will demonstrate that these first attempts to explore text-messaging in Greece and abroad have remained rather close to the popular concerns outlined above. However, this rather single-minded focus on micro-linguistic features, attributed primarily to characteristics of the medium, has also been evident in early CMC research.





In line with current advances in CMC studies, it will be argued that expressions like ‘SMS language’ or ‘Internet language’ imply a rather technological deterministic approach to language use according to which the medium is equated with the genre: what makes us recognize a text as an SMS are its formal characteristics that can be uni-directionally mapped into the new mode of communication, i.e. text-messaging. However, as will be argued below, the equation of genres with technologies for communication results in clear-cut and neat categorizations which do not reflect the fluidity and transferability of norms across genres. As a result, popular representations – and, to some extent, early work on text-messaging – have focused on the ‘deviant’ and ‘non-standard’ features of text-messaging. Following new literacy studies, it will be demonstrated that this ‘deviant’ approach to language use in new media is socio-ideologically loaded and implicitly privileges the norms of ‘school literacies’ over ‘vernacular literacies’. Furthermore, it will be made apparent that previous research on SMS has primarily analyzed text-messages as individual texts and overlooked their sequential positions as contributions (turns) to longer interactional episodes. This observation will bring to the fore the need for more interactionally-oriented analyses of text-messaging, which can be more attuned to issues of sociability, as framed by socially-minded and cultural studies of mobile telephony. Last, but not least, the issue of globalization, already invoked in popular representations of text-messaging, will be discussed in the context of current sociolinguistic research.

### **1.3.1. Sociolinguistic studies**

Considering the relatively recent appearance (c. mid-1990s) and uptake of SMS as a mobile service, academic research on language use in text-messaging is limited to a small number of, rather exploratory and preliminary, studies. The titles of the relevant published articles, such as ‘Generation Txt? The sociolinguistics of young people’s text-messaging’ (Thurlow, 2003b), ‘The sociolinguistics of SMS: an analysis of SMS use by a random sample of Norwegians’ (Ling, 2005), and ‘Language use in Swedish mobile text-messaging’ (Hård af Segerstad, 2005), convey the broad scope of these initial explorations of text-messaging from a sociolinguistic perspective. The lack of a clear focus of inquiry in the above sociolinguistic studies of text-messaging cannot be interpreted without reference to the absence of previous literature on a medium which did not exist fifteen years ago. In other words, this new mode of communication has opened up a new area for research which still remains largely unexplored and awaits to be tamed.

Parallel to the boom of text-messaging in the mobile market at the dawn of the new millennium, the first language-focused studies of SMS (Doering, 2002; Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002; Thurlow, 2003b; Ling, 2004: ch. 7, 2005; Hård af Segerstad, 2005) appear within the field of sociolinguistics. Considering the novelty of this mode of communication, a number of the above studies, first and foremost, have explored and categorized the ‘content-themes’ (cf. Thurlow, 2003b: 8; Ling, 2004: 156; 2005: 340) of text-messages in an attempt to chart the communicative ‘orientations’ (Thurlow, 2003b: 7) and ‘purposes/functions’ (Doering, 2002) which the new medium is



employed to fulfil. Despite redundancy and lack of consistency in such typologies,<sup>20</sup> a relative consensus exists among the available studies emphasizing, on the one hand, the messages’ relational/‘phatic’ orientation and, on the other, the more practically-oriented purposes of ‘arrangement’/ ‘coordination’ in text-messaging.

Another preoccupation of these studies has been the identification of (micro-)linguistic features that are characteristic of text-messaging. As shown in table 1.2, the focus of inquiry primarily concerns features related with the written form<sup>21</sup> of the specific messages, such as spelling, abbreviations, punctuation, capitalization, emoticons and other typographic symbols. At the same time, the brevity in language use has been explored not only in terms of lexical choices (e.g. acronyms and abbreviations) but also at the level of grammatico-syntactic structures which can be omitted (ellipsis) in the specific messages.

FOCI of INQUIRY: (micro-)linguistic features	SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES
abbreviations (shortenings, contractions), emoticons, accent stylisations, punctuation	Thurlow, 2003b
vocabulary, abbreviations, emoticons, capitalization, punctuation	Ling, 2004
abbreviations, capitalization, punctuation	Ling, 2005
punctuation, spelling (consonant writing, abbreviations, capitalization), ellipsis, emoticons (and other symbols)	Hård af Segerstad, 2005

Table 1.2. (Micro-)linguistic features of text-messaging in sociolinguistic studies

In the light of the above, we note that the linguistic features discussed in academic literature coincide with the language forms depicted in popular representations of text-messaging (see § 1.2.3). As a result – and in the absence of previous literature on the specific mode, academic studies have been found to cross-talk with popular

<sup>20</sup> For a more detailed account and critique of the available typologies in the literature, see §5.4.2.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ling’s (2004: 157-162) section on ‘Mechanics of SMS Writing’.



conceptions of text-messaging and, at the same time, to expose findings which either confirm (e.g. Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002: 183; Taylor & Vincent, 2005: 82) or refute (e.g. Thurlow, 2003b; Ling, 2005) (stereo)typical characteristics of the ‘new SMS language’. However, the convergence in the type of features put forth by both academic and popular literature can be attributed to the initial fascination by scholars and laypeople alike with the systemic specificities of the new medium. In particular, the process of typing a text on a small keypad and the limitations in the overall character input (i.e. no more than 160 characters) readily put to the forth linguistic issues related to typography (e.g. capitalization, punctuation, spelling) and brevity in verbal expression (e.g. abbreviations and ellipsis). It is not, thus, surprising that the above studies privilege medium-related interpretations of language use in text-messaging. Although they acknowledge the interplay of other parameters in the users’ language choices, their analyses mainly draw on large corpora of randomly selected messages which do not lend themselves to contextualized and particularistic accounts of micro-linguistic phenomena.

The discussion of the above micro-linguistic features in the relevant studies is often associated with the longstanding debate over ‘Written vs. Spoken Language’. More specifically, presupposing speech and writing as two rather distinct modes of communication, Ling (2004: 162-164, 2005: 347-348) identifies spoken, written, and ‘ambiguous’ features of SMS and refers ‘to texting as a translinguistic drag queen’. As for the element of ‘ambiguity’, pointed out by Ling (2004: 162-164), it corresponds to aspects of text-messaging which allow the examination of an individual text both as an asynchronous message and as a contribution (turn) to a synchronous conversation. Although the conversational quality of text-messaging has

been noted by a number of the above studies (cf. ‘dialogue-style text-messaging’ in Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002: 187), the issue of sequential organization in SMS has been largely unexplored.

In addition to the above studies of German (Doering, 2002), English (Thurlow, 2003b), Finnish (Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002), Norwegian (Ling, 2004, 2005), and Swedish (Hård af Segerstad, 2005) SMS, sociolinguistic research on Greek text-messaging concerns a few pilot studies which have been undertaken by students as part of their undergraduate/BA (Vrouzi & Panzari, 2002; Lambrinidi & Depasta, 2004) or graduate/MA (Mavreas, 2004) programme of study. They primarily focus on text-messages exchanged among young people. More specifically, the age of the participants in the studies span from 18 to 28 years old; namely, 18-24 in Vrouzi & Panzari (2002), 18-22 in Lambrinidi & Depasta (2004), and 23-28 in Mavreas (2004). They are mainly preoccupied with identifying the generic properties of text-messaging or the main characteristics of the ‘Greek SMS language’, as argued by Vrouzi & Panzari (2002) and Lambrinidi & Depasta (2004). In line with the aforementioned (non-Greek) studies, research on Greek text-messaging is, first and foremost, preoccupied with categorizing the corpus of text-messages in terms of their ‘communicative purpose’ (Mavreas, 2004: 465) or their ‘subject’<sup>22</sup> (Lambrinidi & Depasta, 2004: 2). According to their findings, text-messaging is found to be used primarily for reasons of co-ordination and arrangement.

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<sup>22</sup> Lambrinidi & Depasta (2004: 2) do not offer any explanation regarding their use of ‘subject’ as a criterion for categorisation. Looking at the categories they employ (e.g. romantic, salutary, practical/social arrangement, etc.), we can infer that the ‘subject’ here refers, to some extent, to the topic or content of the messages.



Furthermore, Vrouzi & Panzari (2002: 15-16) and Labrinidi & Depasta (2004: 5) attend to micro-linguistic features of script in text-messaging, like punctuation, acronyms, capitalisation, and emoticons (cf. table 1.2). Similar to the above studies on non-Greek text-messaging, their analysis of the specific features also attends to the limitations of the medium, which arguably create a need for brevity and speed. At the same time, both studies (Vrouzi & Panzari, 2002; Lambrinidi & Depasta, 2004) assume a priori that young people are the ‘default’ users of text-messaging, a view which has been popular among the newspaper articles discussed in § 1.2.2. On the other hand, Mavreas (2004: 467-469) focuses on how interpersonal relationships are signalled in openings and closings of text-messages. Although he admits that generic features, such as the presence or absence of interpersonal signals in openings and closings, are affected not only by the systemic specificities of the medium per se but also by other contextual factors, such as the relationships of the participants, we find insufficient contextual information regarding the people who actually sent the messages in his sample.

In sum, the research interests of the above language-focused studies concern primarily the examination of text-messaging as a new communicative genre. The focus has been mainly drawn on typologies of the functions that the new medium arguably fulfils and of the micro-linguistic features which are typical of the specific messages. At the same time, their analyses privilege medium-related interpretations of the phenomena under scrutiny and are rather dismissive of other contextual parameters, such as the participant roles/relationships and the interactional episodes which text-messages refer to, invoke or are embedded in. This medium-biased view of language use in text-messaging often results in perpetuating and constructing (instead of de-constructing)



the ‘new SMS language’ myth. Nevertheless, the contribution of these early studies of text-messaging is undeniable, since they constitute the first attempts to analyze empirically collected language-data in order to tap into the complicated and volatile territory of mobile telephony and text-messaging in particular. However, there is still ample scope for research on text-messaging which can revisit some of the issues mentioned above through more fine-grained and contextualized analyses, shift the focus of attention in order to address at the same time issues of social interaction in SMS, invite cross-fertilizations with more interactionally-oriented sociolinguistic approaches and social theory, and, last but not least, enrich the variety of local cultures in which the use of text-messaging has already been the focus of analysis.

### **1.3.2. Text-messaging in the context of CMC research**

Having discussed the main preoccupations of language-focused studies on text-messaging, this section will attempt to situate the above discussion in broader areas of sociolinguistic research. The theoretical underpinnings of early research on SMS can be traced in the references cited in the above articles<sup>23</sup> which reveal, first and foremost, their affiliation to Computer-Mediated Communication studies. As defined in one of the first and, at the time, cutting-edge books in the area (Herring, 1996a: 1), the term ‘computer-mediated communication’ refers to ‘communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers’. As a result, CMC studies explore language use and interaction in various computer-facilitated modes of communication, such as e-chat, email, web home pages, blogs, Internet mailing lists

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<sup>23</sup> For example, Baron (1998, 2000, 2003) is quoted in Ling (2005), Herring (1996c) in Ling (2005) and Thurlow (2003b), Turkle (1995) in Hård af Segerstad (2005), Werry (1996) in Thurlow (2003b) and Ling (2005), and Yates (1996) in Thurlow (2003b).

or newsgroups, and instant messaging. Considering the research interests of the analysts focusing on text-messaging, we notice that the study of SMS is placed in the context of and/or juxtaposed with their own relevant work on new technologies in general (cf. Doering, 2002; Hård af Segerstad, 2002; Ling, 2000; Thurlow & McKay, 2003; Thurlow et al., 2004). Although the medium enabling interaction via SMS is a mobile phone and not a computer, text-messaging has attracted the attention of CMC scholars by means of its technological characteristics affording the digital composition of a text and, at the same time, establishing personal communication at a distance. As a result, in an attempt to contextualize current research on text-messaging, I will provide a review of linguistically focused CMC studies<sup>24</sup> which will allow us to probe more into the shortcomings of the study of SMS and to shed light into further avenues for research.

Early work on CMC has mostly been preoccupied with identifying computer-mediated language as an emergent register (Baron, 1984) and positioning CMC in the intersection of spoken and written communication. According to Foertsch (1995: 301), language use in CMC – in other terms, ‘interactive written discourse’ (Ferrara, Whittemore & Bruner, 1991) or ‘netspeak’ (Crystal, 2001) – ‘exists on a continuum between the context-dependent interaction of oral conversation and the contextually abstracted composition of written text’. As mentioned in Georgakopoulou (2003), early CMC studies have often claimed that online communication exhibits, on the one hand, properties of face-to-face interaction, like informal style, transience of message, reduced planning and editing, and rapid or immediate feedback, and, on the other,

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<sup>24</sup> The areas covered by published studies on CMC are diverse, representing a variety of disciplines, such as computer science, cognitive psychology, information science, sociolinguistics, etc. (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2001). Considering the goals of the present thesis, this review concerns primarily CMC studies which are linguistically- or socioculturally-oriented.



aspects related to written communication, such as absence of visual and paralinguistic cues, written mode of delivery and lack of participants' co-presence. This hybrid combination of written and spoken features in digitally composed texts has been the focus of inquiry in a number of studies (e.g. Yates, 1996; Collot & Belmore, 1996; Werry, 1996). The examination of micro-linguistic features in various computer modes has documented the use of numerous colloquial and spoken expressions, elliptical constructions and erratic punctuation that suggest informality of style and reduced planning and editing conditions. On the other hand, the absence of false starts, repairs, hesitations and paralinguistic cues corroborates with more written-like communicative styles of reduced immediacy and interactivity.

The analysis of such linguistic and textual features has mainly relied on quantitative methods. For example, Collot & Belmore (1996) have employed Biber's (1988) multidimensional-multi-feature analysis in order to explore CMC across the speaking/writing continuum. In a similar vein, Yates (1996) has compared CMC with spoken and written corpora across a number of factors drawn from a Hallidayan model of language use. In early CMC studies, factor analysis has been the main technique for analyzing computer-mediated data. The purpose of factor analysis, within a variationist paradigm, is to derive a small number of derived variables, i.e. factors, from a large set of variant linguistic features. In particular, quoting from Schiffrin (1994: 332),

Quantitative analyses require definitions of the variants (the different possible realizations of an underlying type), a classification of factors in the environment with which those variants may be associated, and a comparison of the frequencies with which different variants co-occur with different factors.



Although the quantitative thrust of variationist approaches to CMC has the advantage of looking at large corpora and comparing different text types across a number of parameters, it is limited with regard to its validity for analyzing particular cases: it can only account for general trends and patterns. In addition, the correlation of the linguistic variants with their relevant social and contextual parameters may sometimes prove arbitrary. As Gumperz (1982: 26) aptly says with regard to variationist methods in analyzing discourse, ‘such measures [...] rely on a priori assumptions of what is shared, how it is distributed and how significant and generalizable it is’. A number of quantitative comparative analyses of CMC and FtF interaction draw on the premise that the differences observed between the two modes of communication derive from a single dimension of variability; that is, the medium (e.g. Yates, 1996; Werry, 1996). However, even in studies where a high degree of comparability between CMC and FtF corpora is attempted, it has proved highly problematic to account for the observed linguistic choices in terms of the medium alone. In fact, it has been argued that there is a continuum of discourse practices which cuts across the three modes of communication – spoken, written and electronic – and, thus, unidirectional, one-to-one mappings from linguistic choices to each of the three media should be avoided (Georgakopoulou, 2003).

In the light of the above, early CMC research seems to have relied mainly on a rather one-sided interpretation of the notion of ‘context’. In other words, it has overemphasized the medium’s role as a contextual factor affecting linguistic choice at the expense of other parameters, such as the role and relationships of the participants, the purpose of communication, etc. In particular, previous studies have focused on the distinction between synchronous and asynchronous modes of CMC and overlooked

other aspects of the medium such as message granularity, possibility of message storage, multimodal-interface characteristics, and temporal structure (cf. Cherny 1999; Georgakopoulou, 2003). In sum, the focus on micro-linguistic features, the medium-related interpretations of language use, and the descriptive linguistic approaches employed in the analysis of computer-mediated data are characteristics of this ‘first wave’ of language-focused CMC studies (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006: 421).

Considering the first attempts to explore text-messaging (see § 1.3.1), the similarities between those studies and early CMC research with regard to their themes and tools of analysis are striking. Therefore, the study of text-messaging at the beginning of the new millennium appears to follow mainly the first wave of CMC studies in the 1990s. In favour of the delay of current work on SMS to keep up with recent advances in sociolinguistics, we can argue that initial approaches to a new area of study – be it the more specific text-messaging or the more encompassing CMC – may have ‘to go through a process of delimitating boundaries, categorizing and typologizing before problematizing’ (Georgakopoulou, 2006: 549). Like previous studies of SMS, this thesis will also dwell upon micro-linguistic features (such as punctuation and capitalization) but, at the same time, it will bring to the fore issues which have been overlooked in existing bibliography (e.g. sequential organization of SMS-interaction) or have not been explored with a focus on their local realizations in actual exchanges of text-messages (e.g. perpetual contact). In the following sections I will attempt to (re-)frame the concepts and issues discussed in this thesis in line with current CMC research. At the same time, the discussion will open to ‘new’ sociolinguistic approaches and macro-accounts of mediated phenomena originating in social and/or cultural theory.



### **1.3.3. The concept of 'genre'**

The concept of 'genre' has not been exclusively associated with a specific discipline. The widespread use of the term has been at the same time its strength and its weakness. Its weakness lies in that the resistance of the concept of genre to disciplinary divisions of academic fields 'makes it difficult to domesticate to increasingly specialized scholarly theory and practice' (Bauman, 2001: 57). On the other hand, its pervasiveness through diverse academic fields is indicative of the term's irreducibility.

Within discourse studies, 'the genre is essentially a classificatory concept, referring to a class of communicative events, the participants in which share a certain set of conventions defined in terms of formal, functional and contextual properties' (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 1997: 32-33). In other words, genre is defined not only according to linguistic criteria of form, content or function but also in terms of socio-cultural and cognitive criteria. Moreover, the above definition focuses on genre as 'a classificatory concept' which allows for differentiating among different, 'conventionalized', co-patternings between the form, the function and the context of communicative events. Such systematic co-patternings create among the members of a speech community certain expectations and norms on the basis of which they can recognize a string of talk as belonging to a particular genre and, at the same time, indicate their awareness of being 'in' the specific genre by means of verbal and non-verbal signals (Giltrow & Stein, in prep.: 5).



The opportunities for classification offered by the concept of genre, as defined above, have made the term appealing to language-variation studies, especially to the study of computerized language corpora (e.g. Biber, 1988). More specifically, Ferguson (1994: 21) formulates the basic working assumption implicit in the study of genre variation as follows:

A message type that recurs regularly in a community (in terms of semantic content, participants, occasions of use, and so on) will tend over time to develop an identifying internal structure, differentiated from other message types in the repertoire of the community.

As evident in the quotation above, the concept of genre is employed within a framework that assumes conventionalized ‘message types’ which can be distinguished on the basis of differentially identifiable internal structures. Moreover, the above formulation implies that the boundaries between different genres, as conventionalized message types, are clear-cut and easily identifiable.

However, even researchers working within the same framework (e.g. Biber, 1988; 1994) acknowledge that distinctions between genres are problematic, since such categories may appear at different levels of generality, allowing, for instance, for the existence of sub-genres within specific genres. As a result, while genre is offered as a classificatory concept, it cannot at the same time rise above ambiguities emerging in the process of classifying. On the other hand, the ways in which genre is conceived within the specific framework reveals a view of discourse as an end-product which exhibits immanent formal properties or internal structures (cf. Bauman, 2001: 58). On the basis of the above review of early CMC research and studies on text-messaging, we infer that this static framework of genre has been popular among some researchers. In particular, terms like ‘interactive written discourse’ (Ferrara et al.,

1991), ‘Netspeak’ (Crystal, 2001), and ‘Electronic Language’ (Collot & Belmore, 1996) have been employed to refer to Internet language use as a monolithic genre with inherent linguistic and textual features. The same assumption underlies sociolinguistic studies on Greek text-messaging (see § 1.3.1), which explore the generic formal features and the textual structures of the ‘Greek SMS language’. As a result, such studies seem to identify new modes of communication as genres (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006: 421), instead of treating them as ‘candidates for being a genre’ (Giltrow & Stein, in prep.: 9). However, this ‘equation of CMC modes with genres’ (Androutsopoulos, 2006: 431) does not only place fixed boundaries between technologically-mediated<sup>25</sup> genres but it also implies a static conceptualization of rapidly developing and highly volatile media.

Giltrow & Stein (in prep.), in their introduction to the edited volume *Genres in the Internet*, have pointed out that computer-mediated genres are more ‘fluid’, less ‘focused’, and more ‘amenable to pragmatic-functional than linguistic description’ compared to traditional spoken and written genres. To take each characteristic separately, fluidity refers to the fuzziness of boundaries in online environments where the transferability of the bracketings employed in typologies of traditional genres may prove problematic. Moreover, CMC genres are less ‘focused’ in the sense that norms and expectations are not clearly established among the users of new media, as suggested by the need for an increasing number of Netiquette guides and informal policing in Internet chat rooms for instance. In other words, ‘normative ambiguity’ – to echo Danet (2001: 363) – evidenced in the participants’ juggling act of combining norms and expectations from traditional genres with the exigencies of a new

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<sup>25</sup> I employ the term ‘technologically-mediated communication’ (Georgakopoulou, 2006: 550) in order to refer both to computer-mediated and other forms of mediated communication (such as text-messaging, mobile, and landline telephone calls).



communication setting, is much more prevalent in technologically-mediated environments. Last, but not least, considering the low level of expectation and conventionalization of linguistic norms, the definition of CMC genres becomes more ‘pragmatic-functional’. The medium, as an external, pragmatic condition of the genre, is undoubtedly important but it needs to be taken into account in conjunction with a host of other parameters constituting the ‘new communication setting’ (Giltrow & Stein, in prep.: 9) or, in Scollon & Scollon’s terms (2004: 12, 28), with a range of other practices which come together to form a ‘mediated action’ in a ‘site of engagement’. On the other hand, a one-sided focus on the medium per se would result in a technological-deterministic definition of mediated genres.

The above concerns, voiced by current sociolinguistic work on CMC, call for a more fluid/dynamic, less linguistically-defined, and more user- and/or functionally-oriented approach to the concept of genre. However, similar views on approaching genre have been formulated by practice-based theories of genre originating in the field of anthropological linguistics (e.g. Bauman, 2001, 2004; Hanks, 1996, 2000). In Bauman’s (2001: 58) ethnographic study of buying and selling in a Mexican market, genre is conceived as

one order of speech style, a constellation of systemically related, co-occurrent formal features and structures that contrasts with other constellations (Ervin-Tripp 1972, Hymes 1989 [1974]) and provides a conventionalized orienting framework for the production and reception of discourse (cf. Hanks 1987).

The conceptualization of genre as an orienting framework, rather than a conventionalized message type, allows for the fluidity and fuzziness which Giltrow & Stein (in prep.) have noticed in the boundaries of CMC genres. At the same time, these generic frameworks interplay with other pragmatic and metapragmatic



frameworks in the production and reception of discourse. In other words, the notion of genre is intimately linked with emergent contextual elements which ‘inevitably enter into the process, forging links to the surrounding discourse, the ongoing social interaction, broader social relations, instrumental or strategic agendas, and other factors’ (Bauman, 2001: 59). The ‘intertextual gap’ which can be created by the misfit between the users’ generic expectations and their utterances’ local orientations to emergent contextual factors, seems to echo current approaches in CMC which have put forth the users’ creative and strategic re-appropriations, recastings and conglomerations of linguistic forms and norms ‘as resources that suit and are shaped by the environment at hand’ (Georgakopoulou, 2006: 553). Thus, genres, in Hanks’ words (1996: 246), ‘are neither rigid formal types that can be repeated indefinitely as tokens, nor are they formless, purely momentary conjectures’. In other words, generic norms and expectations are not conceived as ‘rules of use’ but as ‘schemes for practice’ (Hanks, 1996: 246), a set of dispositions which, through routine use and habituation, become so naturalized as to be taken for granted (cf. ‘habitus’, Bourdieu, 1990).

The ‘second wave’ of CMC research<sup>26</sup> (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2006), which shifts towards the study of ‘computer-mediated discourse’ (cf. Herring, 2004) rather than ‘the language of CMC’, has already begun to align to the above considerations. More specifically, this line of research moves beyond the (pseudo-)question of whether a new medium introduces a new mediated genre and focuses on how users manipulate verbal and non-verbal choices – whether norms borrowed from pre-existing genres or created anew – as resources in order to manage interaction in the environment at hand

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<sup>26</sup> Such studies – Baym (1995, 1998), Cherny (1999), Danet (2001), Danet et al. (1997), Georgakopoulou (2001, 2004), Panyametheekul & Herring (2003), to name just a few – are more attuned to contextual linguistic research on social interaction.

(cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006: 421; Georgakopoulou, 2003: 3-9, 2006: 553-554). In a similar vein, this thesis will attempt to avoid presupposing a ‘new genre of text-messaging’ and will discuss the specific participants’ language choices by taking into account specific contextual parameters, such as (a)synchronicity, mobility, the participants’ relationships and their interactional history.

#### **1.3.4. Writing norms and literacy practices**

As mentioned before, early CMC research, together with studies on text-messaging, has been preoccupied with positioning language use in technologically-mediated environments along the speech-writing continuum. The underlying assumption about speech and writing in this line of research is that they represent two distinct modes of communication occupying the two ends of the continuum respectively. However, the concept of an orality-literacy continuum implies that there are forms of speech and/or writing which may exhibit both spoken- and written-like elements at the same time (cf. Biber, 1988; Tannen, 1982). With the introduction of digital media as alternative modes of communication, sociolinguistic research (i.e. the ‘first wave’ of CMC studies) has focused on how spoken- and/or written-like features are incorporated into CMC and on whether (and how) digital-like features emerge in new computer-mediated environments. Although the emergence of another, digital, mode could have been a cause for challenging the, old and long-lasting, spoken vs. written divide, early studies of CMC – and text-messaging in particular – have continued to treat literacy as a decontextualized ability occupying one end of the orality-literacy continuum.



On the other hand, new literacy studies, a field encompassing both linguistically- and anthropologically-oriented research (e.g. Barton, 1994; Baynham, 1995, 2004; Besnier, 1993; Street, 1984, 1993), have attempted to depart from the above spoken-written divide and have brought to the fore a more socio-ideological approach to literacy. More specifically, orality and literacy are viewed as social practices whose forms and functions vary for different social groups and communicative purposes. Literacy practices, in particular, are ideologically determined by the social and material conditions of particular cultures (cf. Street, 1984). In other words, this strand of research has pointed out the need to view situated literacy activity in relation to the local interactional and wider cultural context. Furthermore, approaching literacy as a socio-culturally embedded phenomenon draws on the assumption that there are multiple literacies and not just one mode of writing/literacy, as implied in earlier sociolinguistic work. This multiplicity of literacies allows for an important distinction between ‘the literacies of schooling’ (Baynham, 2004: 289), highly regulated and legitimized by the educated ‘elite’, and ‘vernacular literacies’, i.e. ‘closely associated with culture which is neither elite nor institutional, which is traditional and indigenous to the diverse cultural processes of communities as distinguished from the uniform, inflexible standards of institutions’ (Camitta, 1993: 228-229). Considering the power asymmetries involved in the production of institutional and non-institutional discourse, the underlying tension between school and vernacular literacies has often been couched in the form of treating vernacular writing as ‘incorrect’, ‘deviant’, and ‘non-standard’. As argued in § 1.2.3-4, such evaluations, implying a more positive stance towards the ‘correct’ and ‘standard’ literacies of schooling, have been employed in newspaper representations of text-messaging in Greece and abroad.



Literacy in new media could not have escaped the attention of new literacy studies (e.g. Abbott, 2002; Kress, 2003) which have been particularly preoccupied with the issue of how the ordered space of a computer screen affects literacy practices. For example, Abbott (2002) argues that the traditional literacy practices of the 'printing' era are currently undergoing a significant change. More specifically, young people today are much more acquainted with the 'mores', 'circumlocutions', and practices of digital 'hypertexts' than with the sense of completeness and finality implied by the fixed limits of a book's page.

However, this thesis will not discuss the visual representation of a text on a digital (mobile) screen in terms of its organization on the screen space but in terms of its graphemic (mainly typographic) representation. Considering that users of text-messaging can visually access and manipulate<sup>27</sup> only the short text displayed on their handset, the graphemic means employed in the text's production become paramount in this medium. As argued for CMC, the digital text is 'bi-stable', because 'we are always looking first at it and then through it' (Lanham, 1993: 5). In other words, the persistence of words on a phone's screen (cf. Danet, 2001: 362) invites us to give equal attention to the text's linguistic form and meaning. At the same time, the bi-stability of text becomes all the more prevalent in new, technologically-mediated, environments where the conventional boundaries between marked and unmarked texts – in terms of both form and content– have been blurred (Danet, 2001.: 7). Nevertheless, the graphemic aspects of digital texts have mainly been explored in early CMC literature as written-like features/norms migrated to digital from traditional writing. On the other hand, graphemic resources, such as spelling,

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<sup>27</sup> The users 'manipulate a message' in the sense that they can perform a number of actions, such as 'create', 'send', 'edit', 'save', 'clear', 'delete', 'reply to' etc. a text.

punctuation, and capitalization, have been approached as writing practices in an increasing volume of studies of more traditional media, such as informal letter-writing (Kataoka, 1997, 2003a, 2003b), novels (Sebba, 2003), graffiti (Sebba, 2003) and music fanzines (Androutsopoulos, 2000). This thesis will attempt to follow this line of research in the investigation of such graphemic resources in Greek text-messaging. In other words, the graphemic choices of alphabetic script, capitalization, and punctuation, explored in chapters 3 and 4, will be assumed to invoke the values that the specific speech community attributes to such choices and, at the same time, to index the participants' stances towards each other, the message per se and wider socio-cultural discourses.

### **1.3.5. 'Texts-in-interaction'**

As mentioned in § 1.3.2, the 'first wave' of CMC studies has worked on the presupposition of a 'synchronous-asynchronous' divide in terms of the medium's technological specificities. Like face-to-face or telephone conversations, the synchronous CMC modes (e.g. two-way e-chat) allow co-participants to engage simultaneously in interaction and to have immediate access to the text at the time of its editing on a computer. On the other hand, asynchronous modes, such as email, reminiscent of traditional letter-writing, do not facilitate simultaneous feedback between the interactants, since the message can be sent only after the completion of its editing. However, sociolinguistic studies on text-messaging (see § 1.3.1) have noticed the 'ambiguous' (Ling, 2004: 162-164, 2005: 347-348) nature of a text which may represent both an asynchronous message and a contribution to a quasi-synchronous



conversation. Although the conversational-like quality of such messages has been observed relatively early in the study of text-messaging, actual sequences of texts have not been put under scrutiny in the available literature, with the exception of some anecdotal examples found in Kasesniemi & Rautiainen (2002: 187). On the other hand, text-messages have mainly been treated as asynchronous texts in the rest of the available sociolinguistic studies.

The relative bias towards an asynchronous view of text-messaging in these early studies reflects the uneasiness of early CMC research vis-à-vis blurring the boundaries between synchronicity and asynchronicity by extending their definition beyond the medium's technological characteristics. At the same time, the analytical frameworks employed for the examination of sequential organization in new media follow this dichotomy: that is, textual approaches, e.g. Genre Analysis (Swales, 1990), are used for asynchronous modes, like email (see Herring, 1996b), and interactional approaches, e.g. Conversation Analysis (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998), for the analysis of (quasi-)synchronous modes, such as e-chat (see Garcia & Jacobs, 1999). Nevertheless, the use of Conversation Analysis (henceforth, CA) for the study of, even, synchronous CMC media has been underrepresented in the relevant literature.

Before looking at how the specific framework has been applied to the relatively few, CA-informed, CMC studies, I will provide a brief summary of the theoretical assumptions underlying this approach to language and social interaction. Put at its most basic, CA assumes that the analysis of language requires detailed attention to the local realisations of discourse on a case-by-case basis. Quoting Sacks's (1984: 24)



words, ‘it is possible that detailed study of small phenomena may give an enormous understanding of the way humans do things and the kinds of objects they use to construct and order their affairs’. Important premises in CA research are that human interaction is constructed in an orderly manner and analysts can uncover this ‘order at all points’ by looking at interactions as products of machinery (Sacks, 1984). In particular, conversation analysts focus on turn-taking as an instance of interaction management in talk. They have found that conversational turns alternate in ways that are orderly and to a large extent predictable by participants, i.e. certain utterances trigger a limited set of relevant responses in next position (Hutchby, 2001). The significance of this is that participants display to each other a mutual understanding regarding the sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction (‘intersubjectivity’). As a result, the researcher can have access to the interpretive resources that participants use in the construction and negotiation of discourse. In the light of the above, it becomes obvious that CA places great emphasis on the immediate sequential context<sup>28</sup> in which talk is produced. Moving away from a ‘bucket’ theory of context (Heritage, 1997), in which interaction is seen as enclosed in pre-existing and predetermined structures, CA assumes that context both shapes and is invoked locally in the details of verbal interaction. However, CA does not deny the existence of wider social contexts of interaction. Instead, it acknowledges that

a lively sense of context routinely informs our actions in the various social scenes of everyday life. ... But for CA, this intuitive view is inadequate. By relying on the private realm of individual awareness, it fails to account for the essentially public means by which participants display for one another their orientation to context and their understanding of each other’s actions. (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998: 147-148)

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<sup>28</sup> A more detailed discussion of the notion of ‘context’, as conceived in different paradigms, is provided in §6.4.

It is not, thus, surprising that CA studies have avoided the essentialist, technological deterministic, approach to technology of early CMC studies. Instead, language and social interaction have been explored ‘in the context of what the technology does and does not make possible, or “afford”’ (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005: 148). The notion of ‘technological affordance’, introduced by Hutchby (2001: 13-33), allows the analyst to take into account both the materiality of the media and the users’ observable appropriations of technology. In other words, it moves beyond the two polarized conceptions of technology: technological determinism, on the one hand, which privileges the medium and overlooks the actual uses of technology, and social constructivism, on the other, which foregrounds the agent/user’s manipulation of the medium and downplays the artefact’s materiality. In line with Hutchby’s (2001) suggestions, the technological characteristics of SMS will not be taken into account as contextual aspects determining language choices but affording language use and interaction.

As mentioned before, CA has rarely been used as an analytical tool in the study of computer-mediated interaction. One of the first CMC studies, applying CA primarily to the analysis of synchronous modes, is Herring’s (1999) article on interactional coherence, where it is argued that CMC is incoherent, i.e. fragmented, agrammatical and interactionally disjointed. This claim seems to emanate from the limitations of the computer system. In particular, Herring (1999: 3) suggests that two properties of the medium are often considered as impediments to interaction management in CMC

- (1) lack of simultaneous feedback, caused by reduced audio-visual cues and the fact that messages cannot overlap;
- (2) disrupted turn adjacency, caused by the fact that messages are posted in the order received by the system, without regard for what they are responding to.



According to Herring's (1999) findings, turn adjacency is frequently disrupted, exchanges overlap and topics tend to decay rapidly. At a more micro-level, significant gaps have been observed in the transition from one speaker's turn to the next. Although these gaps may be typically shorter than those occurring in the exchange of traditional letters, they are longer than the time-gap between two successive turns on spoken conversation. Furthermore, turn-taking in CMC does not follow the ideal dyadic, one-to-one mapping, message schema. In contrast, 'multiple responses are often directed at a single initiating message, and single messages may respond to more than one initiating message' (Herring, 1999: 7). Moreover, adjacency pairs are not easy to be identified in CMC because physically adjacent conversational moves are rarely functionally adjacent as well. In fact, it is more often than not the case that adjacent conversational turns in CMC seem pragmatically irrelevant. A very telling example of weak local relevance in CMC is described by Turkle (1995). In the interaction between a male participant and a robot programme, named Julia, on a social MUD, the juxtaposition of irrelevant or marginally relevant turns does not surprise the male participant. In fact, for a period of several weeks he did believe that he had been interacting with a human female, and not a robot.

However, the conceptual leap of treating technologically asynchronous messages as turns in interaction is relatively recent in CMC studies. Although Herring (1999) has implied such a leap in her article on interactional coherence, the application of CA to the analysis of asynchronous CMC modes, such as Internet newsgroups, has been attempted by few studies (e.g. Antaki et al., 2005). The focus in such interactionally-oriented studies shifts to 'the ways in which users perform recognisable social actions by exploiting those aspects of the medium that correspond to, or are variants of, the



turn-taking and turn-design rules that obtain in face-to-face interaction' (Antaki et al., 2005: 2). In a similar vein, this thesis will attempt to explore how users of text-messaging achieve specific interactional tasks, such as self-identification, availability checks, closing, and establishing locational relevance in a mobile medium. Despite the fact that such issues have been largely overlooked in linguistically-focused studies of text-messaging and asynchronous CMC, they have been explored in other types of mediated interaction, such as landline and mobile telephone calls.

Research on telephone conversations originates in Sacks's (1992) *Lectures on Conversation*, and has been mainly preoccupied with three topics: openings, closings, and topic management (cf. Luke & Pavlidou, 2002: 9). The clearly defined boundaries of a telephone call<sup>29</sup> allow the analyst to focus on how the two participants, i.e. the caller and the callee, negotiate and mutually accomplish openings and closings in a conversation. More specifically, Schegloff (1972, 1979) has suggested that the opening section of a phone call consists of four sequences: summons/answer, identification/recognition, greetings, and initial inquiries. This 'canonical opening' allows co-participants to establish their mutually ratified participation in the telephone call. Considering that the co-participants do not share the same setting (location) and cannot establish visual contact, issues like identification/recognition and availability for interaction need to be negotiated and established by means of non-visual cues (cf. Schegloff, 2002b). On the other hand, the closing section of a telephone conversation brings to the fore other interactional issues, such as the establishment of a mutually ratified parting between the interactants without causing feelings of rejection (cf.

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<sup>29</sup> In contrast, certain interactional circumstances (e.g. seatmates on an airplane or a train) may create a 'continuing state of incipient talk' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), where 'gaps of silence at topic or sequence boundaries are *not* [sic] taken to occasion the launching of the closing of the conversation' (Schegloff, 2002a: 284).

Pavlidou, 1997). Drawing on the aforementioned assumption that individual messages can operate as turns in an interactional sequence ('texts-in-interaction'), this thesis will attempt to discuss how users of text-messaging manage the opening and closing (or, rather, the lack of opening and closing) in sequences of messages and to show how interactional issues invoked in these phases are related to aspects of the specific communicative setting (see chapters 5 and 6).

### **1.3.6. Interpersonal relationships and sociability**

The study of interpersonal relationships in computer-mediated environments has been primarily oriented toward the issue of online communities. In contrast to early popular conceptions<sup>30</sup> of Internet as an asocial medium, Rheingold (1993) has argued that communities do exist and thrive online. In other words<sup>31</sup>, participants in computer-mediated interactions need to conform to and sustain a sociable behaviour just as they do in real life. In spite of the initial controversy that the term 'online community' has spurred (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006: 422), CMC studies (e.g. Baym, 1995, 1998; Paolillo, 1996, 1999; Rafaeli & Sudweeks, 1997) have turned their focus on how participants in CMC construct a sense of belonging to an online community. For example, Baym (1998) has claimed that this feeling emanates from an emergent set of systematic, in-group, social meanings which are created through a process of appropriating and, in turn, reshaping preexisting resources, e.g. purposes of

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<sup>30</sup> Such popular views were often supported by psychological experiments, conducted in laboratory environments, which suggested that computers are inhospitable to social relationships.

<sup>31</sup> In Rheingold's (1993: 3) words, 'people in virtual communities use words on screens to exchange pleasantries and argue, engage in intellectual discourse, conduct commerce, exchange knowledge, share emotional support, make plans, brainstorm, gossip, feud, fall in love, find friends and lose them, play games, flirt, create a little high art and a lot of idle talk'.



communication, system infrastructure, (a)synchronicity in interaction. Moreover, Rafaeli & Sudweeks (1997) have explored the formation of interpersonal relations online with regard to the notion of interactivity', a variable quality of communication settings. Their findings suggest that 'interactivity indices', like humour, first-person plural pronouns and self-disclosure, enhance a sense of personal involvement and belonging among participants.

Furthermore, assuming that online groups form a kind of social networks, Paolillo (1999) has illustrated how language contact and language change in computer-mediated settings are closely related to the complexity of emerging social relationships on the Internet. Based on an IRC discussion of bilingual speakers, he concludes that the relations between social networks and language variation online do not match exactly the patterns found in research on face-to-face communication. In sum, the discussion in CMC research has gradually moved from debating the very existence of online communities to drawing connections between online and offline communities. This shift of focus reflects the, widely held by now, assumption that online or 'virtual' communities exist and can be identified on the basis of the following six sets of criteria (Herring, 2004: 19-20):

- 1) active, self-sustaining participation; a core of regular participants
- 2) shared history, purpose, culture, norms and values
- 3) solidarity, support, reciprocity
- 4) criticism, conflict, means of conflict resolution
- 5) self-awareness of group as an entity distinct from other groups
- 6) emergence of roles, hierarchy, governance, rituals

Despite the fact that the issues of online communities and social relationships have been at the heart of CMC research since the very beginning, not many studies have focused precisely on the linguistic and communicative devices used by the



participants to enact intimate relationships. One such exception is Baym's paper (1995) on the performance of humour in r.a.t.s (Usenet newsgroup). Indeed, through a close analysis of specific messages she has shown how linguistic features, used at first sight for playful purposes, perform a higher-level function of creating and sustaining group solidarity, along with ensuring individuality in discourse. Furthermore, Georgakopoulou (2001) demonstrates how style- and code-switches in Greek email messages function as the main contextualisation cues that not only frame humorous performances but also 'underlie the creation of symmetrical participant alignments' (Georgakopoulou, 2001: 323). In other words, the focus of analysis, here, shifts towards how the participants employ their language choices in order to manage self-presentation and interpersonal relationships in an environment facilitated by one among the existing alternative technologies for communication (cf. Hutchby, 2001: 2).

Such contextualized studies have also revealed that the boundaries between online and offline interaction are not clear-cut in the communities under investigation. For example, Baym's (1995) ethnographic study of an Internet newsgroup has shown that members of the specific online community often choose to transfer their interaction offline and organize meetings face-to-face. On the other hand, Georgakopoulou (2001, 2004) has explored the online interaction (email exchanges) of intimate participants with previous history of online and offline interactions. Her findings suggest that online activities (such as narratives in private email) are embedded and anchor in the participants' previous and future interactions, both online and offline (Georgakopoulou, 2004: 21). As a result, the 'second wave' of CMC research has made slow but steady steps towards opening up to the investigation of 'groups that

sustain blended on- and offline interaction' (Androutsopoulos, 2006: 422). In contrast, the language-focused studies of text-messaging have been reluctant to discuss the issue of sociability in SMS by taking into account the interrelations between SMS-communication and the participants' sustaining interactions in other mediated and face-to-face environments. This thesis will attempt to fill this gap by exploring how users of text-messaging invoke previous and upcoming interactions in order to achieve specific interactional tasks and, at the same time, to sustain and reinforce their intimate friendship (see chapter 6).

While language-focused studies of text-messaging are still oblivious to issues like the discursive construction of social relationships in SMS, sociologically-oriented and cultural studies have already attempted to tackle such issues and have suggested a conceptual apparatus in order to discuss new forms of sociability in mobile telephony and text-messaging in particular. The notion of 'perpetual contact' – or Schegloff's (2002a: 284) similar idea of 'incipiency in talk'<sup>32</sup> – has been introduced by Katz & Aakhus (2002a) in their collection of early studies on mobile telephony. It should be noted that perpetuity in contact concerns more the perpetual 'possibility of making contact' (Schegloff, 2002a: 285) through a variety of personal communication devices than the actual status of contact itself. More specifically, perpetual contact, as employed by Katz & Aakhus (2002c: 307), represents the reasoning ('socio-logic'; Goodwin & Wenzel, 1979) which informs not only the technological evolution of new media but also our uses of and attitudes towards technologies for communication.

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<sup>32</sup> 'Familiar venues in which one finds continuing states of incipient talk are members of a family or other living arrangement sitting together in a common room; members of a car pool en route to or from their destination; [...] Unlike many other conversational circumstances, gaps of silence at topic or sequence boundaries are *not* [sic] taken to occasion the launching of the closing of the conversation' (Schegloff, 2002a: 284).



Furthermore, the notion of ‘perpetual contact’ is intimately linked with two other concepts, which have been popular among social and cultural studies of mobile telephony: namely, the de- and/or re-localization of interaction and the micro-coordination of everyday life. To start with the latter, Ling (2004: 70) defines ‘micro-coordination’ as ‘the nuanced management of social interaction’. The need for coordination has always been part and parcel of everyday life and interaction. However, the drive for ‘perpetual contact’ has changed the ways in which users of mobile telephony manage the ‘when and where’ of parallel ongoing and future activities. According to Ling (2004: 69), mobile telephony ‘challenges mechanical timekeeping’, as it allows for real-time coordination of movements. In other words, coordination in the mobile era does not presuppose a fixed reference to a specific point in time. Instead, it is the assumption of perpetual, real-time, contact and, thus, interaction between the interactants that opens up the possibility for (re-)negotiation of time scheduling. At the same time, the drive for ‘perpetual contact’ is facilitated by the inherently mobile medium, which can follow its user around. As a result, users of mobile telephony cannot a priori assign a fixed location to the other party (‘de-localization’). This sense of de-localization, however, fosters the need among interactants to specify their location – or, put it in Licoppe & Heurtin’s (2002: 101) words, ‘calls for re-localization’.

In sum, the socio-logic of ‘perpetual contact’ encapsulates the challenges that the mobile medium poses to traditional conceptions of time and space. As mentioned before, such issues have been primarily discussed in sociologically-oriented and cultural studies of mobile telephony that draw their analysis on interviews, questionnaire surveys and the researchers’ fieldnotes. Although these methods can



shed light on how the participants perceive their use of the new medium, they miss out on how such perceptions are invoked in the details of interaction. In contrast, this thesis will attempt to pin down the much celebrated notion of ‘perpetual contact’ by analyzing the participants’ micro-organization of SMS sequences and their references to location and parallel activities in actual text-messages.

### **1.3.7. Glocalization: global processes and local appropriations**

As mentioned in § 1.2.4, newspaper representations of text-messaging have been found to invoke popular discourses of globalization. On a positive note, the ‘global-village’ narrative, as summarized by Hawisher & Selfe (2000: 1-2), portrays the contribution of globally diffused media, such as Internet, to the globalized world as follows:

sophisticated computer networks – manufactured by far-sighted scientists and engineers educated within democratic and highly technological cultures – will serve to connect the world’s people in a vast global community that transcends current geopolitical borders.

However, negative attitudes towards globalization, assuming cultural standardization as an intrinsic part of this process (cf. Giddens, 2002), are also prevalent in newspaper representations of text-messaging use in Greece. Although globalization has served as a contextualization frame for the discussion of Internet and text-messaging in popular discourses, as well as in academic research from a social theory or cultural studies perspective, the interplay between global processes and local appropriations of new media has been added to the agenda of sociolinguistics and, in particular, language-focused CMC studies rather late (cf. Coupland, 2003: 465). According to Coupland’s

(2003) introduction to a ‘globalization-sensitive sociolinguistics’, this ‘late’ (compared to social theory) sociolinguistic turn to global processes should be viewed in the context of a discipline which does not a priori attend to wider issues but only when the latter are invoked in particular locales.

It is not, thus, surprising that the first attempts in CMC research to discuss Internet in relation to globalizing forces have been made by literacy studies that have always been more open to cross-fertilizations from sociologically- and/or anthropologically-oriented studies. The articles contributed to Hawisher & Selfe’s (2000) book on *Global literacies and the world-wide web* have pointed to the web as a culturally diverse space where people and groups around the globe are differentially represented both in their literacy and values. For example, Dragona and Handa (2000) have claimed that the local Greek literacy resists the intrusion of new, western-oriented and computer-mediated, literacy practices through the process of ‘Hellenization’. More specifically, this process ‘notes the ways they [i.e. the users] are beginning to employ the Web as an economic tool and a mask offering the world the “Greek face” it expects while manipulating the Web in a way that preserves Greek privacy’ (Dragona & Handa, 2000: 67). In sum, the articles in Hawisher & Selfe’s (2000) book acknowledge a dynamic interplay between the global and the local. In other words, instead of assuming that global forces strip off local cultures from the particularities constituting their national identities, they have shown how the local can appropriate the global in order to suit culture-specific values and identities (cf. ‘glocalization’, Robertson, 1995).



On the other hand, early language-oriented CMC studies ‘have focused almost exclusively on emergent practices in English, neglecting developments within populations communicating online in other languages’ (Danet & Herring, 2003: 1; cf. Giltrow & Stein, in prep.: 12). As evident in the title of Danet & Herring’s (2003) special issue *The multilingual Internet*, it was not until 2003 that CMC studies began to depart from their mono-lingual focus on English CMC and to explore linguistic diversity online. This English-‘bias’ in early CMC research is, in part, justified considering the fact that the ASCII code (see § 3.3), employed in most computer-mediated environments of the 1990s, facilitated the use of Roman characters and initially accelerated the domination of English on the Internet (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006: 428). In this respect, though, sociolinguistic studies of text-messaging differ from early, ‘English-biased’, CMC studies.

As mentioned in § 1.3.1, the study of text-messaging ranges across a variety of languages and cultures<sup>33</sup>, including German (Doering, 2002), English (Thurlow, 2003b), Finnish (Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002), Norwegian (Ling, 2004, 2005), Swedish (Hård af Segerstad, 2005), and Greek (Vrouzi & Panzari, 2002; Lambrinidi & Depasta, 2004; Mavreas, 2004). Therefore, in contrast to Internet, non-English SMS has right from the start attracted equal attention to English text-messaging. This early preoccupation with local instantiations of a global technology like SMS is intimately linked with the available technological possibilities for localized software in association with the arising needs of the local market. In other words, the marketing of mobile telephony, together with SMS technology, has targeted the local consumers by putting emphasis on the perpetual possibilities for contact at an affordable rate and

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<sup>33</sup> If we also take into account sociological and cultural studies of mobile telephony, then the list of cultures extends beyond the boundaries of Europe to more ‘exotic’ places, such as Japan (Ito et al., 2005), the Philippines (Strøm, 2002), Korea (Kim, 2002), etc.



by equipping local handsets with menus and fonts of the national language. In the context of this technological and marketing ‘glocalization’ of mobile telephony, this thesis will investigate how such phenomena are invoked in my participants’ choices of linguistic code and/or alphabetical encoding, as well as in other culture-specific communicative practices.

#### **1.4. Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed language use in text-messaging as represented in Greek popular discourses and approached by research in the area of sociolinguistics. It has been demonstrated that popular representations and preliminary sociolinguistic studies have focused on micro-linguistic features of SMS. This single-minded focus on the formal properties of the ‘new SMS language’ is indicative of the hype and uneasiness that popular and academic literature have experienced in their attempts to understand text-messaging. In other words, emphasis has been placed on the ‘new’, ‘deviant’, and ‘non-standard’ linguistic forms that readily stand out in individual text-messages. However, both popular and academic concerns regarding language use in text-messaging have been found to invoke and, at the same time, be shaped by popular discourses and sociolinguistic research on computer-mediated communication. In particular, early CMC research and the first studies of SMS share in common technological deterministic accounts of language use, quantitative analyses of large corpora, and a focus on micro-linguistic generic features.

On the other hand, this study will benefit from current advances in CMC research and explore text-messaging not only as individual texts but also as contributions to

sequences of social interaction between specific participants. Rather than presupposing a ‘new genre of text-messaging’, this thesis will focus on verbal and graphemic resources that users of SMS manipulate in order to manage interaction in the environment at hand. However, the local environment is not limited to the technological characteristics of the medium, but it includes both parameters afforded by the medium, such as (a)synchronicity and mobility, and other contextual aspects, like the participants’ relationships and interactional history. The micro-linguistic features of alphabetic script, capitalization, and punctuation will be explored as graphemic resources which are employed vis-à-vis the writing norms of standard Modern Greek and index the participants’ stance towards each other, the text, and wider socio-cultural discourses.

The second part of the thesis focuses on issues of sequential organization and social interaction which have been under-researched topics in sociolinguistic studies of text-messaging. More specifically, the investigation of the participants’ management of openings and closings in SMS will draw on interactional approaches of language which have been employed in the study of other types of mediated interaction (e.g. mobile and landline telephone calls). At the same time, the discussion of sociability in SMS will benefit from concepts, like ‘perpetual contact’ and ‘de-/re-localization’, which have been suggested by socially-minded and cultural studies of mobile telephony but have not yet been scrutinized in the micro-details of everyday SMS interaction. Last, but not least, this thesis will attempt to relate its findings with the aforementioned processes of ‘glocalization’ by exploring the participants’ choices of linguistic code and alphabetical encoding, as well as other culture-specific communicative practices.



## **Chapter 2**

### **Data and Methodology**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

According to Baszanger & Dodier (1997), the point of view of the researched rather than the researcher can be brought to the fore only if the latter accepts and is clear about her initial theoretical assumptions and, at the same time, commits herself to remaining open to any elements or issues that might arise during the data collection. This discrepancy between the point of view of the researcher and the researched has been addressed in the literature as the ‘emic/etic’ distinction. Quoting Duranti (1997: 172),

The emic perspective is one that favors the point of view of the members of the community under study and hence tries to describe how members assign meaning to a given act or to the difference between two different acts. [In contrast] The etic perspective is one which is instead culture-independent and simply provides a classification of behaviors on the basis of a set of features devised by the observer/researcher.

This study is aimed at following an emic perspective on empirical observation. Although my study is not ethnographic, in the strict sense of the term, the collection of the linguistic data, i.e. text-messages, has been supplemented by additional background information regarding the participants in the research, their relationships and their interactional history. Such information has been gathered through the use of ethnographic tools, such as (participant-)observation<sup>1</sup> and interviews with the

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<sup>1</sup> By (participant-) observation, I mean that not only did I have the opportunity to observe my participants exchanging messages by going out with them, but also I exchanged text-messages with them during the data collection.



participants. The reason for conducting this kind of research is my methodological commitment to understanding better the participants' meanings of mobile phone culture and the ways in which they make sense of the activity of text-messaging. This chapter concerns the presentation of the material collected for the purposes of my thesis. First of all, I will attempt to discuss any methodological concerns regarding the collection of text-messages that had arisen before my actual data collection. In turn, I will present my data sets, along with the collection techniques employed. At the same time, I will provide a critical discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of each technique separately. Finally, I will provide an overview of the analytical framework developed in the thesis and I will attend to issues regarding the nature of text-messaging, such as the number of participants involved, the type and length of the actual messages collected.

## **2.2. Collecting text-messages as linguistic data: preliminary concerns**

Venturing into data collection is not an easy or straightforward process in itself. It becomes even more challenging, when the material that needs to be collected did not exist a decade ago. In addition, as mentioned in §1.3.1, there are few academic studies on the previous experience of which a researcher can draw. This section is aimed at discussing the issues which arise when designing the collection of text-messages as linguistic data. In particular, I will first provide a brief overview of the technological characteristics of SMS and, then, move to the discussion of specific issues which can impede or assist data collection.

### **2.2.1. Issues of technology**

In order to present the specificities of the particular technology, I will first attend to some key developments in ‘SMS history’ (cf. Taylor & Vincent, 2005). The possibility of sending instant short data messages via the ‘signaling channel’ or ‘layer’ of a digital network (Taylor & Vincent, 2005: 77) was made apparent as early as in the 1980s and it was initially implemented by telecommunications companies in order to monitor and check on the network. However, the development of GSM (acronym for ‘Global System for Mobile Communications’)<sup>2</sup> technology made redundant the earlier need for checking on the network via the ‘signaling channel’ and, thus, enabled the specific channel to be employed for the exchange of other, non-voice, text-based data. Therefore, text-messaging has arisen as a by-product of general developments in the technological infrastructure of telecommunications networks.

Among the earlier technologies, paging is the most likely predecessor of text-messaging. Both paging and SMS employ radio transmissions in order to alert the user via an auditory signal for an incoming message to the control/call center. However, unlike paging, text-messaging does not only alert the user but also instantly displays the original message as a text on the recipient’s phone. The display of the text is followed by the contact details of the sender (i.e. the phone number) and the day and time that the message is sent. Moreover, SMS is a store and forward device; meaning that messages are not sent directly from sender to recipient but via an SMS center, supported by the mobile telephone network<sup>3</sup>. As a result, text-messages can be

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<sup>2</sup> This is the commercial name for the digital cellular system enabling the same mobile phone to be used on any network supporting this system. The original GSM acronym refers to the group, Groupe Speciale Mobile, who designed this technological system (Taylor & Vincent, 2005: 77).

<sup>3</sup> Source: <http://www.mobilecomms-technology.com/projects/sms/>



exchanged between users, even when the mobile phones are not active and within range. This is due to the fact that the sent texts can be held for a number of days in the mobile operator's SMS center until the recipient's phone is reactivated.

As for the storage capacity of mobile phones, unless text-messages are deliberately deleted by the user, they appear and remain saved in the SIM<sup>4</sup> card's or the phone's memory; sent messages in the mobile's folder of sent items and received messages in the inbox. At the same time, users are able to store and classify their messages in the archive folder or, even, create and name additional folders for that reason. The number of messages which can be saved in a mobile is not fixed. It varies according to the phone's memory from minimum 6 to maximum up to 150 messages.<sup>5</sup> Text-messages are saved for an unlimited time period so far as there is space in the memory. When the latter reaches its full potential, the system either automatically deletes existing messages or is unable to receive new ones, unless the user creates some space in the memory by deleting old text-messages. However, it should be noted that the data stored in a mobile phone (e.g. text-messages, phone book, pictures) can be transferred to another electronic device by means of other types of connectivity. For example, infrared and bluetooth technologies enable the transferring of data from a mobile phone to other devices (e.g. portable computer), provided that the latter is compliant to such technologies.

In addition, the transmission of messages is one-way. In other words, messages are sent as a whole - and not as one keystroke at a time -, when the user selects 'send' on

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<sup>4</sup> SIM (Subscriber Identity Module) card is the removable chip of a mobile phone carrying data, such as the user's phone number, phone book and other information related to the subscriber (source: <http://www.cellhire.com/content/glossary.htm>).

<sup>5</sup> Technological developments have enhanced the storage capacity of mobile phones and late generation mobiles can save more than 150 SMS.



the menu. In turn, the other party responds only after the complete message has been received. However, supposing that the mobile phones are within network coverage and oriented to by their users, this one way, asynchronous mode of text-exchange can be performed within a few seconds, simulating quasi-synchronous modes of interaction (e.g. e-chat). Still, the paucity of feedback persists in this type of computer-mediated interaction, i.e. the user can never be certain whether his message has reached its destination. The message may have never been sent due to technical problems or it may have been 'buried' among other messages and thus escaped the addressee's attention. This systemic weakness can be compensated with the sound-alert noise activated in the event of an incoming message. At the same time, users can select on their mobile's menu the 'report' function which confirms message delivery. In other words, the sender receives a return message back notifying him whether his SMS has been delivered or not<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, the system is set up by default to send messages to individual persons allowing, thus, one-to-one exchange of texts. However, users of text-messaging can also activate the sending option 'send to many' and send the same text to multiple contacts on their phone book (one-to-many exchange).

Furthermore, the medium's systemic specificities, such as the limited bandwidth, 'set the well-known limit of 160 characters per message' (Taylor & Vincent, 2005: 78). As SMS was becoming more popular, the possibility of typing up to 450 characters has been made possible in certain mobile handsets. However, longer messages are still chunked by the system and each string of 160 characters is sent separately. The characters used in SMS are mainly letters, numbers, punctuation marks or other

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<sup>6</sup> Nowadays, this system is becoming more and more sophisticated. At the moment, users usually receive two messages regarding the status of their sent SMS. They are informed not only about the time that their message has been delivered but also if their SMS is still 'pending' somewhere in the network!



symbols. However, the composition of SMS on a mobile does not follow the single-tap character entry used in computers, where each key represents one character. Considering that users key in their messages on a mobile phone numerical (1 to 9) keypad (see figure 2.1), they need to press the same key a number of times in order to enter one character (multi-tap text entry; cf. Taylor & Vincent, 2005: 78).



Figure 2.1. Standard mobile phone keypad (from MacKenzie et al., 2001)

As a result, the user has to press three times the key '2' in order to enter the letter 'c'. If the letter 'a', which belongs to the same key-sequence [2abc], is to follow (as in the word 'cat'), a pause is required for the system to recognize the input of a new character. For example, the process of entering the word 'feet' in SMS is illustrated by Taylor & Vincent (2005: 78) as follows:

First, the "3" key must be pressed three times to enter the "f" character. A short pause is then necessary before the "3" key can be used to input the first "e" (rather than change the already typed "f" character). [...] A further pause is then needed before the "3" key can be pressed again to input the second "e". Finally, the "8" key is pressed once to input the "t".

Current developments in mobile technology have resulted in the introduction of an alternative method for entering SMS characters: predictive text entry. In an attempt to



compensate for the laborious and time consuming multi-tap method, predictive text allows users to press one key at a time for entering each letter. Predictive text input (also known as T9, i.e. 'Text on 9 keys') employs a dictionary which can predict words likely to be written according to the sequence of the user's taps on the relevant keys. Put briefly, the user is provided by the system with a set of word-options and, in turn, she selects the option that suits her text. At the same time, predictive text input allows the user to enrich the dictionary installed by adding new words to the default word list.

In sum, the above discussion has presented the 'store-and-forward' exchange of text-messages through SMS centers, the SMS storage capacity of mobile phones, the possibilities for establishing connectivity between a mobile phone and other electronic devices, the one-way transmission of texts, the types of participation provided (one-to-one or one-to-many), and the alternative methods of text input (multi-tap or predictive). Considering that mobile telephony evolves rapidly within brief lapses of time, the above specificities cannot be held to be stable or uniform. Nevertheless, the technological aspects referred to above apply to most mobile handsets circulating at the time of data collection (2003) and to a large extent underlie the use of SMS today.

### **2.2.2. Issues of methodology**

The 'personal' aspect of mobile telephony has captured the interest of academic studies, as evident in the title *Personal, portable, pedestrian* of Ito et al.'s (2005) book on mobile phone use in Japan and as suggested by Schegloff's (2002a: 287)



association of mobiles with other personal gadgets, such as Walkman. Mobile phones have secured a position among the personal communication devices which are carried close to the user's body<sup>7</sup> and belong to a single person. Unlike traditional, landline, phones, mobiles are rarely shared by two or more persons on a regular basis. Therefore, the nature of the communication device per se does not facilitate access to this type of private data. In the same vein, Thurlow, in one of the few sociolinguistic studies on text-messaging, points out that 'it is not always easy to access data like text-messages which are almost always private and personal, and sometimes very intimate' (2003b: 15). The discreetness and privacy for which the specific medium has been popularly praised prohibit third parties, including the researcher, from accessing this kind of data. In fact, early CMC research (e.g. Yates, 1996: 30) has mentioned the difficulties in collecting messages sent directly from individual to individual, e.g. private emails. For that reason, early studies in the particular area have been oriented more towards public computer-mediated communication, like 'listserve' interactions and bulletin boards (Yates, 1996; Collot & Belmore, 1996), Internet mail lists (Herring, 1996b), etc.

The private nature of text-messaging does not only impede access to actual data but it also raises ethical issues. To what extent can one use and publicize highly personal and, at times, sensitive material for research purposes? In an era of highly contested boundaries between the public and the private sphere, the researcher should be careful with handling such material. Research in computer-mediated environments has generated discussion regarding the treatment of such data (see Danet, 2002b). The assumption that whatever can be accessed online is considered public does not seem

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. the Japanese term for mobile phone 'keitai', meaning 'something you carry with you' (Ito, 2005: 1).

to suffice any more. Issues of privacy are increasingly being given serious consideration and decisions are being made on whether it would be ethically more appropriate to conceal the identities of the persons involved in the online activities in question. Moreover, participants in research studies are expected to be asked whether they are willing to give their ‘informed consent’ (Danet, 2002b: 4) regarding the use of the material collected. In the case of text-messaging, ethical considerations should be taken carefully into account, especially since the data may concern private and intimate messages between participants who may not have even reached adulthood. As will be discussed in §2.3, the data collection techniques employed in this study have been sensitive to such ethical issues and aimed at ensuring the privacy and anonymity of the participants.

Furthermore, one should take into consideration the ephemerality imposed by the technological system, when planning research on text-messaging. As mentioned in §2.2.1, although a text-message can be saved in the SIM card’s or phone’s memory for an unlimited time, the storage capacity of a card/phone is restricted (from min. 6 to max. roughly 150 SMS). As a result, users tend to delete texts shortly after reading them and choose to save a few – perhaps the most personally important ones. As in similar types of data (e.g. spoken conversations), the researcher faces the danger of missing interesting, naturally occurring, data, unless the latter are otherwise recorded. As Kasesniemi & Rautiainen (2002: 178) aptly note, ‘like the oral tradition, text-messages are difficult to capture: today’s message will not exist tomorrow’. Another issue which one needs to attend to at the beginning of data collection is the actual form in which text-messages are encoded. In particular, a text-message appears in an electronic, digital, form: characters are typed on the mobile phone’s keypad and the



message is read as text on the phone's screen. Similar to the case of other electronic data, for instance emails, e-chat, etc., the data collection of text-messages needs to retain, if possible, the digital form of the original messages.

Previous research on computer-mediated communication (Yates, 1996: 30; Herring, 2004: 14) has shown that the collection of computer-mediated verbal data is facilitated by the system itself. In most cases of electronic communication, including text-messaging, a textual trace of interaction is left by default. As Georgakopoulou (2006: 550) testifies, the CMC scholar can benefit from 'an unprecedented access to large sets of data that are already digitised'. Despite the fact that the user decides whether an SMS will actually remain in the phone's memory for a couple of seconds or years, the researcher can take advantage of the system's capacity to store and archive messages. Considering that these texts are saved along with the contact details of the other party and the date/time of the sent text (see §2.2.1), the data gathered can readily provide the analyst with important contextual information. Another technological aspect of mobile telephony which can assist the data collection process is the aforementioned possibility for connecting with other electronic devices. For example, a mobile phone can send or receive data through its infrared port. Employing such a method eliminates the possibility of error in the transcription. Furthermore, the form of the data under scrutiny is as faithful as possible to the original digital messages.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> That said, the difference in the size of the screen between a mobile phone and a computer results in the following discrepancy: on a computer's screen any message is always available to be read as a whole, while the small size of a mobile's screen allows only for parts of the message to be read at a time.

To sum up, I have argued that the data collection of text-messages involves, to a greater or lesser extent, intruding from the part of the researcher into the realm of the private life of the researched. As a result, on the one hand access to such data may be resisted and, on the other, ethical aspects should be carefully taken into consideration. Moreover, the ephemeral nature of the particular messages resists their recording for research purposes. In addition, data collection should not overlook the importance of retaining the messages' digital form. Last, but not least, I have mentioned the opportunities provided by the technological system itself for archiving and saving messages, along with their recording into other electronic media. The discussion which follows will allow me to return to the above issues and relate them, when relevant, to my data collection techniques.

### **2.3. Data collection techniques**

The aim of this section is to present the techniques employed in this study for the collection of empirical data which will be analyzed in the following chapters. Considering the language-focused orientation of this thesis, the material gathered involves primarily the collection of actual text-messages exchanged between specific participants. As shown in table 2.1, I have gathered 447 text-messages in total, using two basic methods: a) a questionnaire survey and b) three case-studies. In the following sub-sections, the data sets that this study focuses on will be described and critically discussed.



DATA SETS		TEXT-MESSAGES	
		n (447)	%
Questionnaires		159	35.6
Case-studies	case-study (group 1)	200	44.7
	case-study (group 2)	45	10.1
	case-study (group 3)	43	9.6

Table 2.1. Text-messages across data sets

2.3.1. Questionnaire sample

At the initial stage of my data collection (September 2003), I decided to draw on the techniques employed by previous studies on text-messaging and, more specifically, by Thurlow (2003b).<sup>9</sup> Similar methodology would enable me to create a comparable data set with such studies. In terms of data collection techniques, Thurlow (2003b) managed to create a corpus of text-messages by asking his students at the University of Cardiff to fill in a questionnaire and to transcribe text-messages saved on their phones. In similar vein, I asked the participants in a questionnaire survey to retrieve from their mobile phones a saved text (either sent or received) and to transcribe it as accurately as possible. As I pointed out both orally to the participants and in the relevant section of the questionnaire (see appendix III), accuracy in the transcription refers not only to the content but also to the form of the messages, particularly the use of spelling, upper or lower case letters, Greek or Latin fonts, etc. At the same time, participants were also asked to specify the sender’s gender and age. As a result, message 1 illustrates the type of linguistic data gathered from the survey: the text transcribed by the participant, along with the gender (e.g. male) and age (e.g. 17-yr-old) of the person who sent the message, as reported in the questionnaire. The

<sup>9</sup> Doering (2002), Lambrinidi & Depasta (2004), Hård af Segerstad (2005), and Ling (2004, 2005) have also employed (web-based or paper) questionnaires for data collection.

questionnaire sample includes 159 text-messages in total, of which the texts serving as examples for my analysis can be found in appendix IV. In order to discuss further the specific data-set, I will divide it into two sub-sets according to the setting in which the questionnaire survey took place.

Message 1 [18]<sup>10</sup>

ΤΙ ΕΓΙΝΕ ΝΥΣΤΑΞΕΣ Η ΜΕ  
ΒΑΡΕΘΗΚΕΣ; ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ ΡΑΔΙΟ ΑΚΟΥΩ.

WHAT'S UP ARE YOU SLEEPY OR BORED  
OF ME? I'M LISTENING TO THE RADIO  
TOO.<sup>11</sup>

Questionnaire sample, male, 17-yr-old

(a) School setting

For the purposes of this thesis, I have collected a sample of 83 messages by 130 students<sup>12</sup> from five classes of an Athenian high school, situated in a central area of Athens (Ambelokipi). Despite being a state school, it is one of the few (three) 'Experimental' (Πειραματικά) High Schools in Athens. These schools achieve their status, and thus, called 'experimental' (πειραματικά) or 'model schools' (πρότυπα), due to the quality of staff which is regarded as more qualified (compared to other state schools) and the opportunities it offers to students to be involved in extra-curriculum activities, such as theatre, literature, environmental activities, etc. In other words, the school environment is rather welcoming to research not directly relevant to the official curriculum programme. With respect to this study, the teachers were willing to facilitate data collection. They allowed for the distribution and completion of the

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<sup>10</sup> In the square brackets I note the number of the specific message, as coded in the appendix.

<sup>11</sup> All translations to English are mine.

<sup>12</sup> The remaining 47 participants who did not provide any messages either did not have a mobile phone at all (only 3 out of the 130 students) or they did not have their phones with them (in class). Of course, we cannot discount the possibility that some of them may have deliberately refused to transcribe their messages, but we cannot have any evidence if and for what reasons this was indeed a deliberate choice.



questionnaires to take place within the official hour of teaching. In some cases, they managed to incorporate the whole process into the subject taught on the specific day. In addition, students were also helpful and familiarized to the task of participating in research surveys. As some teachers mentioned, ‘experimental’ high schools had always been keen to participate in academic research of educational or language interest.

Anyone is eligible to apply to this school. However, priority is given to those living in the neighbourhoods around the school and the rest of the applicants are selected by ballot. As a result, the students, participating in the questionnaire survey, came from different areas of Athens (see table 2.2). Moreover, it is not at all straightforward to associate the particular students with a specific socio-economic status. The absence of fees or other academic assessment and the selection of students by ballot or geographical proximity open up the possibilities for people from different socio-economic backgrounds to enrol to the particular high school. However, in terms of ethnic cultural background, it can be argued that the students were mainly of a Greek origin; there were very few immigrants or other students of a non-Greek descent in the specific classes.

AREAS	STUDENTS	
	n (130)	%
SCHOOL’S AREA: <i>Ambelokipi</i>	56	43.1
AREAS CLOSE TO SCHOOL: <i>Gizi, Likavitos, Ilisia, Neapoli, Goudi</i>	49	37.7
AREAS DISTANT FROM SCHOOL: <i>Exarchia, Poligono, Patisia, Zographou, Kypseli, Gerakas, Ag. Artemios</i>	19	14.6
NO ANSWER	6	4.6

Table 2.2. Distribution of students in residential areas

Given that the particular high school is mixed, of the total number of students, 71 (54.6%) of them were female and 55 (42.3%) male (there were 4 who did not fill in the box about their gender). In terms of age, the students of five classes participated in the survey, three from the first grade, from 14 to 15 years old, and two from the second grade of High School, from 16 to 18 years old (see table 2.3).

AGE	STUDENTS	
	n (130)	%
14 yr-old	5	3.8
15 yr-old	69	53.1
16 yr-old	49	37.7
17 yr-old	6	4.6
18 yr-old	1	0.8

Table 2.3. Age of (school) participants

(b) Leisure settings

The above sub-set, collected in an institutional setting, is comparable to Thurlow’s (2003b) corpus of text-messages, which has also been created by means of a questionnaire survey at a university setting. However, it should be noted that the participants in my survey were younger than the persons whose text-messages Thurlow (2003b) analyzes. In order to have access to messages from older users of text-messaging (beyond 18 years old), I used a network of 10 former students of mine<sup>13</sup> as the driving force in the data collection. I managed to widen the scope of my sample through the ‘snowball technique’ (i.e. young people telling their friends about the research) and by going to the places where they usually hang out (university cafeterias and bars). Thus, the distribution and completion of questionnaires took

<sup>13</sup> I used to be their private tutor in language subjects, when these students were still in secondary education: that is, over the years 1998-2000.



place in informal settings. It should be noted that the initial ten university students acted as mediators between the researcher and their friends, explaining to the latter the research purpose and being actively involved in the process of distributing and collecting the questionnaires. A sample of 76 text-messages from 111 participants was collected in young people’s leisurely settings. The majority of the messages collected in this sample are from people who had finished secondary education and were in their twenty’s. In terms of the specific participants’ demographics, 70 (63.1%) female and 41 (36.9%) male persons participated in the survey. As mentioned before, the majority (n: 89, 80.2%) had finished school and were over 18 years old (see table 2.4).

AGE	PARTICIPANTS	
	n (111)	%
14-18 yr-old	22	19.8
18-22 yr-old	76	68.5
23-25 yr-old	13	11.7

Table 2.4. Distribution of participants in terms of age

In addition, it should be mentioned that this sample is notable for the great variety of areas of the participants’ permanent residence. Out of the total participants, 67 reported as their place of residence areas in Athens which are not represented in the school sample (see table 2.5 below). In addition, a small number of participants (14) did not live permanently in Athens.

Place of residence	Participants	
	n (111)	%
areas represented in the school sample: <i>Ilisia, Goudi, Exarchia, Patisia, Gizi, Poligono</i>	28	25.2
areas not represented in the school sample: <i>Chalandri, Ag. Paraskevi, Pireas, N. Erithrea, Pangrati, Marousi, Glyka Nera, Vyronas, Kalithea, Glyphada, Peristeri, N. Smyrni</i>	67	60.4
other cities / areas: <i>Chalkidiki, Patra, Chalkida, Kalamata, Veroia, Thessaloniki, Agrinio, Irakleio</i>	14	12.6
no answer	2	1.8

Table 2.5: Participants and place of residence

2.3.2. Discussion

The main strength of a questionnaire survey – even a convenience sample such as the one presented above and in Thurlow (2003b) – is the fact that the text-messages collected provide tokens of the medium’s use from a wider sample of participants (cf. Ling, 2005: 338). The age range of my participants spans between 15 and 25 years old: that is, they fall into the SMS target group, as defined in the marketing campaigns of mobile phone operator companies. As for their place of residence, they reported areas from all over Athens (with the exception of fourteen informants who lived permanently in other Greek cities). Another advantage of questionnaire surveys is the fact that the informants can remain anonymous, since they are only asked to provide demographic details regarding their age, gender, and place of residence. Moreover, their privacy can be further ensured considering that they have control over what (and whether) they wish to disclose for research purposes. It is, thus, not surprising that this method of data collection has been particularly popular among the first studies of text-messaging (e.g. Hård af Segerstad, 2005; Ling, op.cit.; Thurlow, op.cit.; Vrouzi &



Panzari, 2002), since it can readily provide the researcher with a fairly diverse and large corpus and, at the same time, ensure the anonymity and privacy of the informants.

Furthermore, this sampling technique can indicate the kind of text-messages that participants choose to save in their phones. As mentioned above (§2.2.2), the technological system, which has a limited storage capacity, makes the nature of these messages rather ephemeral. The fact that the participants choose the messages to be transcribed among those already saved in their phone may provide the analyst with insights as to which text-messages are worthy of being kept for a longer period of time.

At the same time, the data gathered from a questionnaire survey can indicate the type of messages that the participants themselves consider reportable. In fact, the selection process, as it was actually undertaken by the participants, was not entirely random. On the basis of my field notes – taken while I was observing the whole process in the school setting – I report that there was a lot of discussion among fellow students (usually in teams of four or five) as to which message they should choose to transcribe<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, one participant, i.e. Nana (see §2.3.4 for her profile), who acted as mediator in distributing and gathering questionnaires, offered evaluative comments regarding some text-messages reported by her network of friends and relatives. In fact, while returning the questionnaires to me, she mentioned that some of

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<sup>14</sup> In contrast, when filling in the multiple choice section of the questionnaire, the same students were quieter and there was not much discussion with other classmates. Rather, the talking, involved in this phase, concerned mainly clarification questions addressed to the researcher (fieldnotes, 09/09/03).

the participants transcribed ‘silly’ (*χαζά*<sup>15</sup>, fieldnotes, 28/09/03) messages. When I asked her which messages she meant as ‘silly’, she pointed to message 2 which consists of only two words (*τι κάνεις*), meaning ‘how are you?’. The particular episode allows us to assume that the trivial nature of this everyday inquiry makes the specific message not highly reportable from the point of view of Nana.

### Message 2 [2]

Τι κάνεις?

How are you?

Questionnaire sample, female, 14-yr-old

Moreover, on the basis of my observation during the survey, I noted that choosing the message to be copied was not an individualized process. There was a tendency for my participants to collectively select the text-message which would be quoted. This may be linked to wider collective practices of text-messaging reported in the literature. One such practice is collective reading and composing of text-messages. As Kasesniemi & Rautiainen argue, Finnish teenagers ‘read messages to each other in bars and cafés, at parties and at school’ and this collective reading may happen ‘as a sign of confidence, out of curiosity, and simply to pass the time’ (2002: 181). Therefore, despite its private and personal nature, a text-message may not be read only by its intended recipient. In fact, during the data collection my participants were far from reluctant to show and share their messages with friends and classmates (fieldnotes, 09/09/03; 11/09/03).

As for the participants’ response to the survey, out of the students who participated in the study (130 in total), 83 (approximately 64%) of them responded to the request for

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<sup>15</sup> I quote extracts from my fieldnotes, interviews, or actual messages in italics and their translation in inverted commas.



their messages. The main reason for leaving the relevant section of the questionnaire blank has been the fact that some students do not carry their mobile phone at school. It should be noted, here, that using mobiles at school is typically forbidden. As for the specific school, there are signs posted in prominent places all around the school (school yard and corridors) reminding students that mobile phone use is banned (fieldnotes, 09/09/03). Although the distribution of questionnaires took place towards the end of a teaching hour with the teacher present and supporting the whole process, some students were still reluctant to switch their phone on and place it prominently on their school desk (fieldnotes, 11/09/03). However, there were cases where students enthusiastically responded to the whole process, experiencing it as an enjoyable break from class or as a way of challenging established school regulations (fieldnotes, 11/09/03). This latter consideration was nicely expressed in the words of a smiling, 16-yr-old, female student, who turning to her teacher said ‘Oh! Mrs! Just think of the headmaster coming in now! He would have had a heart-attack!’ (*Ooo! Κυρία! Σκεφτείτε να' μπει ο διευθυντής τώρα! Θα πάθαινε συγκοπή!*) (fieldnotes, 11/09/03).

Summing up, the use of questionnaires for gathering data such as text-messages has the advantage of collecting instantly a large amount of data from different demographic groups. At the same time, the mobile nature of the technological device enables the distribution of questionnaires in different settings. However, as Ling (2005: 337) points out, the specific data collection technique yields de-contextualized corpora of text-messages. In other words, the collection of random single messages through questionnaires extracts text-messages from their natural context. The messages appear as autonomous texts produced by faceless persons about whom the researcher knows no more than their age and gender. The texts cannot be embedded in

a real context of interaction where other text-messages, strings of interaction, events or activities may take place before, after or in parallel to the production or reception of a single message. Furthermore, the transcription of text-messages in such a way (i.e. asking the participants to copy the message on a questionnaire)<sup>16</sup> has the disadvantage that the data do not occur in their original digital form. In fact, the analyst focuses on paper copies, the non-digital variants, of text-messages (see §2.2.2). Therefore, the digital nature of the phenomenon remains difficult to be explored empirically. Finally, this method of data collection is difficult to ensure that messages have been transcribed fully and faithfully, enhancing the possibility of error (cf. Hård af Segerstad, 2005: 319).

### **2.3.3. Case-studies**

In order to compensate for the lack of background information regarding the participants involved in the activity of text-messaging, I decided to focus on the interaction of three specific groups. Here, the data collection technique differs from the one described above. The participants were asked to store in their phone's memory the messages exchanged among them for a sustained period of time (several weeks). In turn, taking advantage of infrared technology, which enables data communication between digital devices (see §2.2.1), I transferred the saved messages to a portable computer through infrared ports. The collection of messages was accompanied by interviews with the participants regarding their practices of text-messaging.

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<sup>16</sup> In the case of Ling's telephone survey (2005: 336), the respondents were asked 'to read (and, where necessary, to spell out) the content' of the text, which was transcribed by the researcher.



The data gathered from the case-studies, including fieldnotes from observation, interviews with the participants, and records of their in-group SMS interactions, provide a more contextualized approach to the analysis of text-messaging. One of the main advantages of this sampling technique is that the technological equipment used is provided by the mobile phone. Unlike most sociolinguistic studies of text-messaging (cf. Ling, 2004, 2005; Mavreas, 2004; Vrouzi & Panzari, 2002), this study takes advantage of the medium's systemic characteristics and, in particular, the technological possibilities for archiving and connectivity with other devices. The absence of other external technological equipment at the time of interaction makes the presence of the researcher more discreet and less intrusive in the setting. Thus, the data collected occur naturally, i.e. the participants exchange messages for their own purposes. At the same time, the risks of error in transcription, unavoidable in a questionnaire survey, are minimized by the immediate transfer of data from one port to another and the digital form of the original messages is retained.

Furthermore, the advantage of establishing a sustained interaction and long contact between the researcher and the researched provides for a deeper understanding of the participants' life and everyday practices. It creates an environment of mutual trust; further reinforced by assuring participants for their anonymity and treating them as experts and not as passive subjects or respondents. More specifically, the participants in my case-studies have given their 'informed consent' (Johnstone, 2000: 43) for their messages to be gathered and analyzed in this study. In other words, I have not surreptitiously collected my corpus of text-messages, but I have asked each participant individually for their permission to keep a record of their text-exchanges prior to the actual data collection.

Another advantage of this sampling technique is the collection of temporally ordered text-sequences, exchanged between the specific participants. As mentioned in §1.3.5, although previous studies have noted the occurrence of SMS as contributions to longer interactional sequences, their analyses have primarily focused on corpora of individual texts. The examination of texts as they appear in temporal sequences minimizes the risk of misinterpreting single messages. In particular, knowledge of previous and upcoming messages and interactions provides useful insights into the analysis of micro-phenomena. Moreover, data collection for a long and sustained period of time allows for parallel types of sampling. For instance, if a long enough continuous time period is captured, coherent threads around a single topic can be established. This becomes very useful in the analysis of text-messaging. It is observed that the data under investigation form groups of messages (sequences) which are more related than others in terms of topic and time proximity.<sup>17</sup>

Over two periods of data collection (28/08-15/10/2003 and 10/01-07/03/2004), I managed to collect 288 text-messages from the three groups in total (see table 2.1). As shown in sequence 1, the type of linguistic data gathered from the case-studies place individual texts in the context of longer exchanges of messages between specific participants. At the same time, together with the textual trace of SMS, information about the day and time that each message is sent is provided. In the following section

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<sup>17</sup> However, a range of factors, external to research design, may create problems in predicting and controlling the number of messages collected. For example, participants run out of credit and, thus, do not exchange texts for a couple of days or delete messages that they find trivial. Therefore, it is a challenge for the researcher to convince the informants to save all messages, an act which runs counter to their everyday practices. In particular, at the beginning of the project a lot of messages seem to have been missed because of that reason.



(2.3.4), I will provide profiles for all participants from each group and their relationships, on the basis of my fieldnotes and interviews.

Sequence 1 [1] case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 28/08/2003

Message 3 [38]

*texter: Fay, time: 13.50*

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΙΖΩ ΑΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΜΙΚΡΟ  
ΕΡΩΤΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΛΙΚΟ ΝΑΝΟΥΚΙ ΠΟΥ  
ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΟΛΛΗΤΗ ΜΟΥΙΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΚΑΛΑ  
ΤΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΟ?ΠΟΤΕ ΘΑ ΔΕΙΣ ΤΟ  
ΠΑΙΔΙ?ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

[I say] GOOD MORNING TO THIS LOVE-  
STRICKEN NANA OF MINE WHO IS MY  
BEST FRIEND!HOW ARE YOU?WELL WHAT  
SORT OF WEATHER IS THIS?WHEN ARE  
YOU SEEING THE BOY?[little] KISSES

Message 4 [39]

*texter: Fay, time: 14.10*

ΝΑΝΟΥΚΙ ΛΟΥ[sic] ΤΙ ΕΠΑΘΕΣ?ΓΙΑΤΙ ΔΕΝ  
ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ?

MY [little] NANA WHAT'S WRONG WITH  
YOU?WHY AREN'T YOU RESPONDING?

Message 5 [40]

*texter: Nana, time: 14.16*

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑΙΑΧ ΦΛΙΟΥΛΙ ΜΟΥ ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ  
ΘΑ ΜΕ ΑΝΕΒΑΣΕΙ Η ΜΑΜΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΓ.  
ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΜΟΥ ΕΣΤΕΙΛΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑ ΜΝΜ  
ΣΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΙ ΠΟΥ ΕΛΙΩΣΑ... ΠΟΛΛΑ  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

GOOD MORNING!AH MY [little] FAY  
LUCKILY MUM IS DROPPING ME OFF AT  
ST. PARASKEV'IIHE SENT ME A TEXT THIS  
MORNING THAT MADE ME MELT... MANY  
[little] KISSES

Message 6 [41]

*texter: Fay, time: 14.20*

ΑΝΤΕ ΤΥΧΕΡΟΥΛΙΚΟ!ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΔΕΙΣ ΤΙ  
ΤΕΛΕΙΑ ΜΑΜΑ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΕΙΣ!ΝΑ ΠΑΣ ΝΑ  
ΤΗΣ ΔΩΣΕΙΣ ΔΥΟ ΤΕΡΑΣΤΙΑ ΦΙΛΙΑ!ΕΝΑ  
ΑΠΟ ΣΕΝΑ+ΕΝΑ ΑΠΟ ΜΕΝΑ!ΚΑΛΑ ΝΑ  
ΠΕΡΑΣΕΙΣ!ΠΡΟΣΕΚΤΙΚΑ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ  
ΠΟΛΛ[sic]

ADE[-particle] LUCKY [little] YOU!SEE WHAT  
A GREAT MUM YOU'VE GOT!GO AND  
GIVE HER TWO HUGE KISSES!ONE FROM  
YOU+ONE FROM ME !HAVE FUN!TAKE  
CARE!MANY [little] KISSES

## 2.3.4. Profiles of participants

### (a) Case-study I: Fay, Nana, Melina, Anna, and Dimitra

Over the two periods of data collection (28/08-15/10/2003 and 10/01-07/03/2004) I gathered 200 text-messages from the first group which consists of five female friends,

Fay, Nana, Melina, Anna and Dimitra (see table 2.6). They had all finished secondary education and at the time studied at the University of Athens (apart from Fay who was a student at the Technological Educational Insititute of Patras). They neither lived nor had ever lived in the same neighbourhood. Nana, Melina, Anna and Dimitra met each other when still in primary school. They used to spend their summer holidays together at a camping site (*κατασκήνωση*, fieldnotes, 05/09/03) at the outskirts of Attiki. Since then they became good friends and for the last ten years they used to see each other once or twice per month. They went to the movies, the theatre, or exhibitions in museums, they organized parties, dinners, or gatherings at each other's place, they went shopping etc. Their parents were also friends and there were social gatherings which they all attended together.

CASE-STUDY I (GROUP I)	TEXT-MESSAGES	
	n (200)	%
Fay	83	41.5
Nana	57	28.5
Melina	5	2.5
Anna	29	14.5
Dimitra	26	13

Table 2.6. Case-study I

During the period of the data collection, Fay was 20 years old. She was from Athens and was studying electrical engineering at the Technological Educational Institute (TEI) of Patras. During term-time, she lived on her own at a rented apartment in Patras. In Athens she lived with her parents in an area close to the centre of Athens called Pangrati (Παγκράτι). She spendend half of the year in Athens and half in Patras. When I first approached some other members of the group (i.e. Nana and Melina) and talked to them about my research, they both advised me to collect Fay's messages, because she was the 'texty' person. Indeed, I have collected 83 text-messages only



from Fay. In her interview (18/09/03) Fay said that she really liked text-messaging and, in general, she was fond of new gadgets. As for her performance at school, Nana informed me that Fay had never been a very good student but she preferred going out with friends, shopping, etc.

Nana was also 20 years old. She lived with her parents in a neighbourhood near the centre of Athens (Ilisia, Ιλίσια). She was studying civil engineering at the National Technical University of Athens. During my fieldwork, she was keen on helping me with my research. She distributed questionnaires to a number of her friends and brought me in contact with the rest of the group. Her friends, especially Fay (interview, 18/09/03), reported that she was as a hard-working and reliable person. I collected 57 text-messages from her.

Melina was 18 years old, the youngest in the group. She lived with her parents in a northern suburb of Athens (Ag. Paraskevi). She had recently passed the national exams and was a student of Law School at the University of Athens. She had a lot of hobbies (fieldnotes, 23/01/04): she was playing the guitar, she was a member of a choir and a theatrical team, she did private tutoring in English language to small children, etc. Being the youngest in the group, she did not enjoy freedom from home as the rest of the group. With regard to text-messaging, she didn't like it at all. In fact, she was the least keen to send text-messages. Only 5 text-messages of my sample come from Melina.

Anna was 19 years old. She lived in another northern suburb of Athens (Melisia) and was studying Architecture at the National Technical University of Athens. She was

playing chess and participated in national and international championships. Her friends admired her for being successful with boys and sharp-witted. She liked flirting and was the first to be consulted in boys-girls matters. I have collected 29 messages in total from Anna.

Dimitra was 19 years old. She was studying Law at the University of Athens and also lived in a northern Athenian suburb (Marousi). She liked teasing people and with Anna they made an unbeatable team. Her friends thought she was confident, smart and funny. At the same time, she was the leading figure of the group, offering advice to her friends and organizing outings. In my sample there are 26 messages sent by Dimitra.

#### (b) Case-study II: Elisavet and Maria

Over the same periods of data collection, a sample of 45 messages has been collected from the second group which consists of two female participants, Elisavet and Maria (see table 2.7). Elisavet was my main informant; she was the one who undertook the task to save her own and Maria's text-messages in her mobile phone. They had been best friends for the last three years, since Maria had moved to Elisavet's school. They were also going to the same tutoring school (*φροντιστήριο*) that prepared students for the final exams on the basis of which entrance to Greek universities was assessed. They saw each other regularly, at least every day at school on weekdays, and they also went out together in cafeterias, bars, etc once or twice per week (fieldnotes, 30/08/03). They lived in the same neighbourhood; their houses were just a block away. They



spended a lot of time together everyday and Elisavet frequently referred to Maria as ‘my very best friend’ (*η κολλητή μου*) (fieldnotes).

CASE-STUDY II (GROUP 2)	TEXT-MESSAGES	
	n (45)	%
Elisavet	21	46.7
Maria	24	53.3

Table 2.7. Case-study II

Elisavet was 17 years old and in her final year in High School. She lived in Peiraias (the port of Athens, 9km southwest). She went to a state school which was only a few blocks away from her house. She was taking the national exams in order to enter Law School. She enjoyed going shopping and going out with her friends to the local cafes and bars. In terms of her performance at school, she was regarded as a good student. I have collected 21 text-messages in total from Elisavet.

Maria was also 17 years old and in her final year of High School. She also lived in Peiraias, in the same neighborhood as Elisavet. She wanted to study marketing and economics. She too frequented the local cafeterias and bars. Compared to Elisavet, she seemed to be enjoying more freedom from home about going out late. She did not like studying and was not doing extremely well at school. She preferred going shopping or going out late with friends. There are 24 messages sent by Maria in the sample.

(c) Case-study III: Kostas, Nikos, and Manos

The third group, from which 43 messages have been gathered, consists of three male participants, Kostas, Nikos and Manos (see table 2.8). The relatively small amount of texts gathered from the specific participants is due to the fact that, although they had been cooperative over the first period of data collection (28/08-15/10/2003), they were rather evasive and reluctant to repeat the same process over the second period (10/01-07/03/2004). As a result, this data set is employed as supplementary material in the thesis. Over the period of data collection, Kostas was the main informant, as he was the one who saved in his mobile the text-messages that he exchanged with either Nikos or Manos. All three participants knew each other. However, they were not all friends with each other. Kostas was a common friend of Nikos and Manos, but the latter two were mere acquaintances. They all share an interest in music.

CASE-STUDY III (GROUP 3)	TEXT-MESSAGES	
	n (43)	%
Kostas	21	48.8
Nikos	12	27.9
Manos	10	23.3

Table 2.8. Case-study III

Kostas was 19 years old, born and raised in Larisa (a city in central Greece with approx. 95000 inhabitants). At the time of data collection, he lived in a western suburb of Athens (Petalona) close to the Technological Educational Institute (TEI) where he studied computer electronics. He liked playing the guitar; he attended guitar seminars and occasionally performed in a small musical scene, a bar frequented by



students at the centre of Athens (Asklipiou rd). There are 21 messages from Kostas in the sample.

Nikos was 19 years old, also born and raised in Larisa. He moved to Athens at the age of 18 because of his studies. He studied engineering at the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA, Εθνικό Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνείο). He lived in a very central area of Athens (Eksarçia), near the University. He liked music; he played the guitar, attended guitar seminars with his friend, Kostas, and frequented at the bar where Kostas worked (fieldnotes, 04/09/03). However, he was not as involved as Kostas in the musical scene. I have collected 12 messages from Nikos

Manos was 20 years old, born and raised in Athens. He was in a two-year programme studying sound and music at a Private Educational Centre (IEK). At the same time, he attended guitar seminars and had his own band playing acoustic rock. They were not professional musicians, but enjoyed getting and playing together at least once per week in a small recording studio. Manos also frequented at the bar where Kostas works (fieldnotes, 15/09/03). He aspired to be a professional musician. 10 messages have been gathered from him.

On the basis of the description of the three groups above, it becomes evident that the first group, consisting of the five female friends, is the primary one in terms of the number of messages collected. The data gathered from the other two groups will operate as supplementary material. The second group has been chosen to consist of participants of the same gender but different age group and socialization patterns. Elisavet and Maria are still in secondary education – as the participants in the

questionnaires distributed in the school setting – and see each other frequently, since they live in the same residential area. On the other hand, participants in the first case-study have finished secondary education and have never inhabited in the same area. As for the third group, there is differentiation in terms of gender, but age is a constant variable between this case-study and the primary data collected from case-study I. In other words, the male participants in the third case-study have finished High School and live in different neighbourhoods of Athens.

A first look at the data indicates that there are no group-directed messages in the specific sample. In fact, the text-messages gathered from my case-studies represent text-exchanges between specific pairs of participants. As shown in table 2.9, it is not the case that each participant exchanges messages with every other member of the same group or that the density of interaction via text-messaging is the same among all participants. In fact, although there have been previous face-to-face or mediated interactions among all members of the same group, the messages gathered during the period of my data collection concern texts exchanged among eight – out of the potential fourteen – participant-pairs. The following table (2.9) provides information regarding the messages collected from each participant-pair and some keynotes on their histories of friendship.



case-studies	Participant-pairs	text-messages exchanged	
		n (288)	%
case-study I	Fay and Nana: best friends, ex-classmates at school, studying in different cities (Fay in Patras, Nana in Athens), see each other at term breaks	136	47.2
	Fay and Melina: friends, introduced to each other by Nana, see each other in outings organized by Nana	0	0
	Nana and Anna: friends, met at the camping site while still in primary school, see each other together with the other members of the group	0	0
	Nana and Melina: friends, met at the camping site while still in primary school, close ties between their families	2	0.7
	Nana and Dimitra: friends, met at the camping site while still in primary school, see each other together with the other members of the group	4	1.4
	Fay and Dimitra: friends, introduced to each other by Nana, see each other in outings organized by Nana	0	0
	Fay and Anna: friends, introduced to each other by Nana, see each other in outings organized by Nana	0	0
	Dimitra and Anna: best friends, met at the camping site while still in primary school, living close to each other, see each other together with (and independently from) the other members of the group	52	18.1
	Dimitra and Melina: friends, met at the camping site while still in primary school, see each other together with (and independently from) the other members of the group	6	2.1
	Melina and Anna: friends, met at the camping site while still in primary school, see each other together with the other members of the group	0	0
case-study II	Maria and Elisavet: best friends, classmates, living in the same neighbourhood, see each other every day	45	15.6
case-study III	Kostas and Nikos: best friends since childhood, moved from Larisa to Athens for their studies, see each other almost every day	23	8
	Kostas and Manos: friends, met at guitar seminars, see each other at the seminars and music-related places (bars, concerts)	20	6.9
	Nikos and Manos: acquaintances/friends, introduced to each other by Kostas, see each other at guitar seminars	0	0

Table 2.9. Participant-pairs in the case-studies

As shown in table 2.9, certain participant-pairs – for example, Fay and Nana, Dimitra and Anna, Maria and Elisavet, and Kostas and Nikos – exchange relatively more text-

messages compared to the rest of the participants. At the same time, the quantitative prevalence of their text-exchanges in my data is related to a difference in their relationship type, as manifested in their interactional history of mediated and face-to-face encounters. In particular, the members of each of the above, four, pairs sustain a more intimate relationship. In other – or, rather, their own – words, they are *κολλητές* / *κολλητοί*; meaning that they are best friends (‘mates’ or ‘best buddies’). The significance of this term lies, in part, in the fact that my participants employ *κολλητή* (or the male equivalent *κολλητός*) to distinguish the relevant pair-member from the rest of their friends belonging to the same group.

The literal meaning of the term invokes, first and foremost, the notion of contact between two entities; that is, the words *κολλητές* and/or *κολλητοί* denote two or more entities (here, two female or male friends) that are fastened or connected together with glue. In the metaphorical use of the term, the adhesive quality of this uniting substance foregrounds the strong ties established between the relevant members of the participant-pairs above. As evident in the participants’ profiles, the close contact among the specific participants coincides with other contextual parameters, such as residential proximity (cf. Anna and Dimitra), being members of a shared institutional community (cf. Maria and Elisavet attending the same high school), and similar background (cf. Kostas and Nikos moving from Larisa to Athens to pursue their studies). As a result, the term of address *κολλητή* / *κολλητός*, which recurs both in the participants’ text-messages and interviews, emerges as an important ‘emic’ category for referring to the relationship-type of the specific participant-pairs (see §2.1).



## **2.4. Analytical framework**

This study has set out to explore SMS both as individual texts and as contributions to longer interactional sequences, embedded in the participants' everyday life. The data collection techniques outlined in §2.3 have been attuned to the aforementioned dual approach of text-messaging. More specifically, the data analyzed in this thesis concern a corpus of 447 individual messages, of which 288 (64.4%) texts are embedded in sequences of SMS-interaction among the participants in my case-studies, along with fieldnotes from participant-observation and interviews with the specific participants. This commitment to explore text-messaging both as individual texts and as 'texts-in-interaction' has informed not only my data collection but also the analytical framework developed in the following chapters.

The variety of data-sets under study, together with the novel nature of text-messaging, calls for an eclectic approach which combines analytical tools from different research paradigms. As pointed out by Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou (2003: 9), 'it is the novel or hybrid nature of the material itself that dictates an integrative empirical approach'. On a similar note, Herring (2004: 16) has argued that the study of language and interaction in new, computer-mediated, environments does not a priori subscribe to a single analytical framework. Rather, it follows an inductive process whereby analytical methods are borrowed from different language-related paradigms and creatively adapted to the exploration of linguistic and interactional patterns observed in computer-mediated discourse. However, early CMC research and current sociolinguistic studies of SMS have primarily employed tools and methodologies originating in a single paradigm, namely descriptive linguistics (cf. Androutsopoulos,

2006: 421). As shown in §1.3.1-1.3.2, typological analyses of ‘content-themes’ (e.g. Thurlow, 2003b; Ling, 2004) and variationist methodologies, such as factor analysis and Biber’s multi-dimensional approach (e.g. Collot & Belmore, 1996), have been widely used among early studies of CMC and text-messaging, in particular.

As mentioned in chapter 1 (see §1.4), the present study of Greek SMS combines an examination of graphemic patterns in text-messages with a sequential analysis of the texts’ organisation and the participants’ management of specific interactional tasks in the new, mobile medium. Part I of the thesis (see chapters 3 and 4) provides a linguistic analysis of graphemic patterns in which I will reveal how alphabetical encoding, capitalisation and punctuation in Greek text-messaging are employed as resources in order to suit the participants’ needs in the local environment. The analysis first identifies the various types of graphemic representation in the data which are then discussed in relation to the graphemic resources afforded by the medium and to the orthographic norms of standard writing in Modern Greek. However, the participants’ choices of alphabet, letter-shape and punctuation are not viewed as determined by the technological system or as deviant from standard writing norms, but they are approached as a socio-cultural practice; that is, they are not void of socio-ideological meanings (cf. Baynham, 1995; Kress, 2003; Street, 1984) and are employed as means of indexing participants’ stances and identities in writing (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2000; Kataoka, 2003b).

Furthermore, the analysis of usage patterns in my data draws on a distinction between ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ choices (cf. ‘exceptional’ vs. ‘regular’ in Androutsopoulos, 2000: 517). This distinction originates in the Prague School of Linguistic (e.g.



Jakobson, 1957) and has been particularly applied to formal linguistic description, where the ‘unmarked’ represents the most frequent, simplest, more basic and universal choice (cf. Greenberg, 1966). Within the context of this thesis, though, the above distinction is invoked only in the initial typological analysis of my data and the sole criterion for distinguishing between marked and unmarked use is frequency of occurrence (cf. Myers-Scotton, 1993), in conjunction with the participants’ perceptions of regularities in the specific medium. In turn, the descriptive findings, yielded by the quantitative analysis of my sample, are qualitatively analysed. More specifically, marked, graphemic and other, choices are further examined in their local context-of-occurrence in order to uncover stances and identities that the specific participants potentially associate with their use (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2000: 517; Georgakopoulou, 2001: 312-313; Kataoka, 2003a: 13-14). This analytical preoccupation is informed by Gumperz’s (1992) idea of ‘contextualisation cues’, according to which meaning in interaction is construed through a synergy of verbal and non-verbal signals. These signals index attitudes, stances and other sociocultural expectations, relevant to the local discourse environment, and invoke certain frames of interpretation.

In part II of the thesis (see chapters 5 and 6), the analytical focus shifts towards the examination of text-messages as contributions to longer interactional sequences. The study of openings and closings in Greek SMS will combine a textual analysis that focuses on the structural parts of individual messages with a sequential analysis which takes into account the position of texts in the relevant sequence and wider issues of interactional order. The sequential analysis of text-messaging draws on the framework of Conversation Analysis (e.g. Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1972, 1979) which provides

the analytical tools to explore the participants' management of specific interactional tasks, such as self-identification, availability checks, and the establishment of locational relevance in a mobile medium. As mentioned in §1.3.5, sociolinguistic studies have been reluctant to employ methodologies associated with synchronous, face-to-face, interaction in the analysis of technologically asynchronous modes of communication (cf. Antaki et al., 2005). However, the increasing variety of new technologies for communication has cast doubt on the idea of fixed boundaries between synchronous and asynchronous media. In the light of the above, the current study is aimed at sketching a comprehensive framework for the analysis of text-messaging both as asynchronous, individual, texts and as quasi-synchronous contributions to longer sequences, which appear interrelated with and deeply embedded into the participants' web of everyday interactions.

In sum, this section has provided an outline of the analytical framework which will be employed in the following chapters and has been aligned with the thesis' commitment to explore Greek SMS both as individual texts and as texts-in-interaction. This commitment resulted in the development of an eclectic approach, informed by a range of methodologies and frameworks ranging from text analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis to a combination of qualitative with quantitative analytical tools. The current study follows the current turn in CMC research towards more contextualised and particularistic analyses of mediated interaction (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Herring, 2004). The analytical focus on the details of interaction benefits from the participants' ('emic') insights, gained through ethnography, and avoids the pitfall of technological



determinism for which early CMC research and studies of SMS have been severely criticised (cf. §1.3).

## **2.5. Two-party interaction: texter and textee**

With respect to the number of participants, text-messaging does not fall under the multi-party schema of interaction evidenced in face-to-face conversations and computer-mediated environments (e.g. e-chat, online email forums, etc). This dyadic pattern of interaction, reminiscent of telephone calls (cf. Schegloff, 2002b) and personal letter-writing, is related to the fact that a text-message can be read only by the persons who have access to the handsets from and to which the text has been sent. Considering that each participant in my case-studies has her personal handset and mobile phone number, other people are more likely to be restrained from having access to one's phone and messages, unless granted permission by the owner of the handset. This personalized trait of text-messaging is also enhanced by the handy and mobile medium which affords the maximum physical proximity between the phone and its user at all times. Therefore, there are two basic categories of identity involved in text-messaging: the 'texter' and the 'textee'. The terms 'texter' and 'textee', coined in this study, are reminiscent of the corresponding categories 'caller' and 'callee' in telephone calls and 'transcend the characteristics of their individual incumbents on any particular situation' (Hutchby, 2001: 103).

Furthermore, the highly personalized nature of mobile telephony allows to assume that the category of 'texter' also encompasses the roles of the 'sender', i.e. the owner

of the phone number from which the text is sent, as identified by the system, the ‘animator’, i.e. the person who keys in the message, the ‘author’, i.e. the person who has formulated the wordings of the text, and the ‘principal’, i.e. the person responsible for the message’s content (cf. Goffman, 1981). At the same time, it also creates the expectation among users of text-messaging that the ‘textee’ is at the same time the ‘recipient’, i.e. the owner of the mobile phone which receives the message, the ‘reader’, i.e. the person who actually reads the text displayed, and the ‘addressee’, i.e. the person to whom the texter originally intends to send the message. The analysis of sequential patterns in text-messaging (see chapter 5) will demonstrate how the above considerations are invoked in the actual practices of organizing interaction in SMS.<sup>18</sup>

## **2.6. Chain messages**

Chain messages concern texts which are exchanged among users of text-messaging without any alteration in their form or content. As Kasesniemi & Rautiainen (2002: 179) point out, chain messages are ‘the successors of chain letters’. In computer-mediated communication, we could also trace their ancestors in the type of forward emails sent to multiple recipients. More specifically, these messages are not tailored to the specific context of their occurrence. It has been argued (*idem*) that chain messages are an expression of a collective text-messaging culture, where the role of the author does not coincide with the sender of the specific text. As for their content, these texts concern lyrics, jokes (see message 7), wishes, etc.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> For example, users of text-messaging can dispense with elaborate openings, because they do not face the ‘identification problem’ (cf. Schegloff, 1979) imposed by less personal communication devices, such as landline telephones.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. messages 3-5, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22 and 27 in appendix IV.



Message 7 [22]

This cat,is cat,a cat,good cat,way cat,to cat,keep  
cat,an cat, idiot cat, busy cat,for cat,20 cat, second  
cat!!!! Noy [sic] read it all without the word  
cat.

Questionnaire sample, male, 19-yr-old

Furthermore, chain messages appear only in my questionnaire sample. Indeed, 44.7% (n: 71 messages) of the questionnaire sample are chain messages. This observation suggests that mundane and personal messages aiming at the organization of everyday life are less likely to be chosen for transcription in a questionnaire survey. In other words, it seems that a method that requires the transcription of text-messages outside their natural context encourages participants to disclose de-contextualised and less personal messages. At the same time, the setting appears to be an important parameter as to the kind of data one gathers. In particular, chain messages represent the majority (62.7%/ n: 52) of the sample gathered in the school setting, whereas there are far less (25%/ n: 19) among the text-messages collected in informal / leisurely settings. Therefore, we could argue that the latter setting creates a more relaxed, friendly, atmosphere which makes participants feel less detached and, thus, more prone to transcribe personal messages.

## **2.7. Message length in the data**

As their technological name (Short Message Service) implies, text-messages are short texts. In terms of the total number of words, the length of the text-messages collected has been found to span from 1 to 66 words. With regard to the calculation method, I

have employed the standard Microsoft Word ‘word count’ which, in turn, has been cross-checked with a manual word-count. As mentioned by Thurlow (2003b: 5), the Microsoft ‘word count’ system provides a ‘crude calculation’ of the message length, since the word identification is based on typographic criteria. In other words, every character or string of characters separated by typographic spaces from the rest of the text counts as a word. However, this criterion runs counter to my participants’ use of typography, which, as will be argued in chapter 4, does not always follow the grammatical rules for writing. As a result, the manual cross-checking of word count allows us to identify a string of text such as ‘today.what’ as two words (and not as one, according to Microsoft ‘word count’) and a sequence of characters like ‘t o d a y’ as one word (and not as five words, in terms of Microsoft calculations). Moreover, any typographic symbol used for representing a word, e.g. the mathematical ‘plus’ [+]  
sign denoting the conjunction ‘and’, counts as a word in my analysis.

To start with the lengthier messages in my sample, there is only one text-message in the whole data set which consists of 66 words in total (see message 7). The specific text has been collected from the questionnaire survey.

#### Message 7 [34]

Κουκλίτσα μου καλημέρα!Κοιμάσαι τώρα ε;Δε σου’στελνα μυνήματα τόσο καιρό γιατί τώρα έβαλα κάρτα!Δε νομίζω να σπαταλάς τη σκέψη σου σε άτομα ανάξια... Τέτοια ομορφιά που έχεις κ έξω κ μέσα γρήγορα θα εκτιμηθεί κ θα αγαπηθεί! Εδώ εμείς καλά! Προσπαθώ να ξεαγχώνω τον αδερφούλη σου! Να τα λέμε κ στο τηλ..! Θα σε παίρνω απ’το σπίτι μου. Φιλάκια πολλά μωράκι μου!

Questionnaire sample, female, 22-yr-old

Good morning [my little] doll! Are you sleeping now eh[-particle]? I didn’t text you for so long because I’ve just bought a card!I hope you don’t waste any of your thoughts on unworthy people... Your inside and outside beauty will soon be appreciated and loved!We’re fine here! I try to de-stress your little brother!We should talk on the phone as well!I’ll call you from home. Many [little] kisses my [little] baby!



In terms of the number of characters, it exceeds the limit of 160 characters. Although it has been transcribed as one message in the questionnaire, it is impossible to have been received as a whole due to technological limitations. Further evidence from the case studies shows that participants do write text-messages longer than 160 characters which, in turn, appear as multiple messages in the recipient's phone (see messages 70-71 and 74-75 in appendix IV). Despite the fact that it should have been divided by the system as two distinct messages, the participant chose to transcribe it as a whole in order to provide the complete message. This indicates that the participants' understanding of a text-message does not correspond to what is technologically defined as a text-message. Instead, a text-message from a participant's point of view represents a message with thematic unity, intended to be sent as a whole by the user.

On the other end of the spectrum, we find extremely short text-messages consisting of no more than one word. These telegraphic messages appear in the data set collected from the case studies (see messages 104 and 106 in appendix IV). Considering that one-word messages are always part of specific interactional sequences, it is not surprising that they do not appear among the decontextualised messages collected from the questionnaire survey. As shown in the following sequence (2), these texts are minimal responses, such as 'yes' (see message 11) or 'ok' (see message 104 in appendix IV), to previous messages which open the specific interactional sequence<sup>20</sup>.

Sequence 2 [17] case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 16/01/04

Message 8 [93]

*texter: Dimitra, time: 18.25*

KANONIZOYME KAMIA EKPΛHΞH ΓIA TH  
MATA?

[Why don't we] ARRANGE A SURPRISE FOR  
MATA?

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<sup>20</sup> Such interactional sequences will be further explored in chapters 5 and 6.

Message 9 [94]

NAIAIAIAI!

Message 10 [95]

ΟΚΕΙΚΣ!ΤΕΛΕΙΩΝΩ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΠΑΙΡΝΩ?

texter: Anna, time: 18.31

YEEEEES!

texter: Dimitra, time: 18.32

OK[-/eiks/]!I’M FINISHING OFF AND I’M  
CALLING YOU BACK?

Apart from the above cases of message length, table 2.8 provides an overview of how the total sample of text-messages is distributed across the different data sets in terms of word length. More specifically, we notice that the majority of the text-messages collected (61.5%, n: 275) include between 6 and 25 words in total.

DATA SETS		NUMBER of WORDS								TOTAL	
		5<		6-15		16-25		25>			
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Questionnaires		10	2.2	38	8.5	54	12.1	57	12.8	159	35.6
Case-studies	case-study (group 1)	35	7.8	50	11.2	69	15.4	46	10.3	200	44.7
	case-study (group 2)	8	1.8	23	5.1	6	1.3	8	1.8	45	10.1
	case-study (group 3)	3	0.7	18	4	17	3.8	5	1.1	43	9.6
TOTAL		56	12.5	129	28.8	146	32.7	116	26	447	100

Table 2.10. Message length in the data

As mentioned in §1.3.1, previous studies of text-messaging have also examined message length in SMS: an average text-message is approximately 14 words in Thurlow’s (2003b: 6) study of English SMS, no more than 15 words in Mavreas’s (2004: 465) sample of Greek text-messaging, and 5 to 7 words in Ling’s (2005: 342) research on Norwegian SMS. Compared to these studies, my sample appears to fall towards the lengthier end of the continuum: the majority of texts being over (58.6%, n: 262) – rather than under (41.4%, n: 185) – 15 words. However, it is not easy to draw comparisons with previous studies, since the latter either do not describe their



method of word count (cf. Mavreas, 2004; Ling, 2005) or follow the Microsoft Word ‘word count’ function (cf. Thurlow, 2003b), which identifies two words conjoined with a punctuation mark as one and, thus, counts less words in total, compared to manual calculation. Nonetheless, putting aside the lack of samples’ comparability in terms of method, we could argue that the lengthier nature of my sample is related to the social demographics of the groups under investigation. More specifically, the majority of the messages collected are exchanged among female participants between 16 and 20 years old, who have also been found by Ling (2005: 343) to be ‘particularly prolific at writing complex SMS messages’ and, thus, longer texts.

## **2.8. Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the data sets on which the following analysis will be based. I have employed two methodological tools in my data collection. First of all, following the techniques of previous studies in text-messaging, I have gathered 159 text-messages from questionnaires distributed to young people from 15 to 25 years old, as defined in popular representations (see chapter 1). Then, I have focused on the use of text-messaging by ten participants of three specific groups. The innovation of my technique in gathering the relevant material concerns the use of mobile technology (i.e. infrared communication) for recording text-messages. As a result, the specific technique does not distort the digital form of the original messages. Furthermore, I have managed to create a record of the interactions among the participants in the case-studies for specific time periods. Such a record provides me with sequences of exchanged text-messages. These sequences will enable my analysis to focus on the

texts not only as individual messages but also as parts of a longer interactional sequence, which has not yet been attempted in the relevant literature.



## **PART I**

### **GRAPHEMIC REPRESENTATION**

#### **VIS-À-VIS WRITING NORMS**

## **Chapter 3**

### **Alphabetical encoding**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

Writing was initially invented as another mode of linguistic representation in order to provide a durable record of speech. However, the invention of typography has given to the written (and printed) word a greater degree of independence from oral production (cf. Baron, 2001: 16). According to Baron's (ibid.: 25-54) historical overview of writing and punctuation in the English-speaking world, printing houses were instrumental in developing a conventional system regarding the text's layout and the use of punctuation and capitalisation. As a result, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century grammarians drew on these conventions in order to create their own grammatical-(ortho)graphic agenda prescribing the composition of written texts. As for the current Modern Greek school grammar of Manolis Triantafyllidis, it was initially composed in early twentieth century reflecting the writing standards of the era and has been employed with minor amendments since then. This brief summary of the evolution of writing in the western world indicates that graph(em)ic choices concerning the visual presentation of a text on paper or screen are not opaque in meaning. At the same time, the socio-ideological meaning of literacy has been brought to the fore by new literacy studies (e.g. Street, 1984; Kress, 2003; Baynham, 2004) that have pointed out the need to view situated literacy activity in relation to the local interactional and wider cultural context. The study of literacy activity in a new and volatile medium, such as text-messaging, provides a unique domain for exploring



the tension between ‘the literacies of schooling’ (Baynham, 2004: 289), predominant in public language debates, and ‘embedded, situated, local literacy practices’ (idem), occurring in the actual text-messages exchanged among my participants.

In the case of text-messaging, the public debate regarding the position of mobile phones in Greek culture and society has mostly focused on issues of language in particular. It is by now a truism that the identities and ideologies of a nation are intimately linked with its language. As will be argued in § 3.2, the alphabet in which a particular language is encoded does not only function as a transcription system but also as ‘ideological sign’ (Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou, 2003: 4-5). According to popular representations, the incorporation of global new media into the Greek culture has resulted in the adoption of the Roman alphabet in the writing of Greek (see § 1.2.4). In other words, the Roman alphabet and, thus, the ‘global’ language encoded in Roman, i.e. English, are assumed to displace the use of the Greek alphabet and language in text-messaging.

The aim of this chapter is to examine empirical evidence that would support or refute the above stereotype. In particular, I will investigate the choice of alphabet for encoding text-messages, i.e. whether the text-messages collected are written with Greek, Roman or both characters. In terms of the medium’s technological affordances, alphabet-choice can happen at two levels in text-messaging: first, an alphabet may be selected as the default option of encoding text and, then, users may choose to shift between alphabets in the process of writing a message. The discussion will show that the standard practice of writing with Greek characters represents the norm in Greek text-messaging. I will argue that this script norm is facilitated by the

technological medium, which was soon accommodated to the needs of the local market. However, non-standard practices, which, at the same time, override the need for brevity and speed in texting, have also been documented in my data. More specifically, users of text-messaging employ the time-consuming choices of switching to Roman within Greek default texts as a means of indexing their affiliation with global youth cultures.

### **3.2. The alphabet in context**

The study of script in Greek text-messaging invokes both technological and socio-ideological issues. In other words, the choice of alphabet in mediated interaction is related to the various alphabetical options provided by the technological system and the ideological load that these options may have for the members of the specific culture. As mentioned in § 1.3.5, language choices in technologically-mediated environments are made ‘in the context of what the technology does and does not make possible, or “afford”’ (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005: 148). The notion of ‘technological affordance’ (Hutchby 2001: 26-33) implies that language use and social interaction in technologically-mediated communication is not determined by the characteristics of the medium. However, Hutchby’s position does not strip away the material aspect of technology, since the users’ observable appropriations of the medium are ‘afforded’ by the specific technological characteristics. Therefore, the medium’s specificities involved in the composition of a text-message need to be considered. More specifically, users of text-messaging type the messages on their mobiles by pressing keys on the phone’s keypad. With regard to the history of mobile telephony in Greece,

while the first mobile handsets, launched in the Greek market, did not enable the use of Greek fonts, the choice of Greek menus and characters is a common fixture among today's phones. In particular, each key represents a set of Greek and Roman characters whose sequence depends on the default language pre-selected on the phone's menu. Thus, the technological system affords the use of both alphabets as resources for writing text-messages.

However, the choice of script cannot be examined in isolation of the cultural and socio-ideological context in which the specific text-messages are exchanged. Bloomfield's (1933: 21) view of writing as 'merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks' has been highly contested by more socio-culturally oriented approaches to literacy. In particular, the 'opposition view' (Baron 2000: 21), which presupposed a dichotomy between speech/orality and writing/literacy, has been severely criticized by sociolinguists, like Tannen (1982) and Biber (1988), and social anthropologists, such as Street (1984), Finnegan (1988) and Besnier (1995). Although the alphabet provides us with a writing system for representing the sounds of speech, it is something beyond a mere transcription system. As Kress (2003: 30) points out, socio-cultural meanings attach to this 'transcription system' and the alphabet may acquire a symbolic status for specific nations and cultures.

In the context of Greece, the symbolic value of the alphabet as a writing system has been even more accentuated and ideologically loaded (cf. 'Greek language and alphabet as ideological signs'; Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou, 2003: 4-5). The Greek alphabet is estimated to have been in use since the eighth century BC. However, Greek came to be established as a national language no sooner than the



mid-nineteenth century AD, when the modern Greek state was officially recognised (1832). At the time, one of the main arguments against those who were challenging the existence and surviving of the newly-formed state was Greek language itself. Although there were long and heated debates regarding the establishment of either ‘Katharevousa’, closer to ancient Greek and used in administration and education, or ‘Demotic’, closer to the everyday language spoken by the majority of the population, the Greek writing system had not undergone significant changes since ancient times. Therefore, although inseparable from the Greek language, the Greek alphabet better served as a national symbol. As mentioned by Sebba (2003: 152), writing aspects of a national language create ‘an ideal site for ideological struggle’, given their highly visible nature and their association with the physical image of language.

### **3.3. ‘Greeklish’: Roman-alphabetized Greek**

The term ‘Greeklish’ has been employed to denote the written representation of Greek with Roman characters in computer-mediated environments. It first appeared as an alternative script of Greek in electronic media, where the basic ASCII code (see table 3.1) afforded the encoding of Roman characters only (cf. Danet, 2001: 196). Its main feature is spelling variation regarding the transliteration of Greek characters with Roman equivalents; a ‘phonetic system’ of transliterating orients to the acoustic/sound quality of the original Greek letters, e.g. use of ‘o’ for both Greek ‘o’ and ‘ω’, whereas an ‘orthographic’ one focuses on the visual representation of Greek characters with Roman equivalents, e.g. use of ‘w’ for the Greek ‘ω’ (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2000b: 75-76; Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou, 2003: 3).

	!	"	#	\$	%	&	'	(	)	*	+	,	-	.	/
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	:	;	<	=	>	?
@	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	[	\	]	^	_
`	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o
P	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	{		}	~	

Table 3.1. The basic ASCII code<sup>1</sup>

As discussed in § 1.2.3, it is popularly assumed that users of text-messaging prefer Roman to Greek characters in their writing. According to newspaper representations, this preference is attributed to properties of the technological medium itself which facilitate the use of the Roman alphabet. Subscribing to the dominant, school-based, definition of literacy (cf. Barton, 1994: 4), the relevant publications juxtapose Roman-alphabeted Greek with the standard writing of Greek with Greek characters. At the same time, they associate this phenomenon with the dominant status of English in technological environments. The adoption of global cultural commodities, such as mobile phones or Internet, from local cultures, like Greece, is regarded in the most pessimistic publications as a ‘dangerous’ process (cf. § 1.2.5). More specifically, the surviving of local, national, languages is claimed to be threatened by the dominant status of English as a ‘lingua franca’. Within this context, the infiltration of Roman characters, along with English words and expressions, into Greek is one among an array of negative effects of this ‘alarming’ process.

In addition to popular claims on the use of Greeklish, a hypothesis that would predict a preference for Roman-alphabeted Greek in text-messaging among young people can be formulated on the basis of academic studies on Greeklish. Androutsopoulos (2000b: 85) concludes that, despite technological advances affording the use of Greek characters, email users in Greece and abroad continue to write their messages in the

<sup>1</sup> Source: <http://www.cplusplus.com/doc/papers/ascii.html>

Roman alphabet. In fact, 51% of the Greeks living in Greece and participating in Androutsopoulos' (2000b: 80) study claim that they employ Greeklish in most or all of their emails. Furthermore, in the context of computer-mediated communication, Greeklish 'tends to become a script register among young people (Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou, 2003: 3). Therefore, assuming that writing in text-messaging is computer-mediated, in the 'etic'<sup>2</sup> sense that it involves the use of a keyboard and a screen, we can speculate that Greeklish is the unmarked choice in young people's text-messages.

In the following sections, I will explore whether empirical evidence from the analysis of my data confirms or disproves the above hypothesis. First, I will quantitatively analyze the total number of the collected text-messages in terms of alphabet choice, Greek or Roman. In turn, I will look more closely at each category, i.e. a) messages written exclusively with Greek characters, b) messages written exclusively with Roman characters, and c) messages written with mixed characters. The aim will be to investigate whether the Roman alphabet is the unmarked choice for the writing of Greek in text-messages among my participants.

### **3.4. Alphabet choice and text-messaging**

Table 3.2 shows the distribution of text-messages collected according to their alphabet of encoding. In particular, the Greek alphabet is used exclusively in 80.3% (N: 359) of the total sample, in contrast to 11% (N: 49) involving text-messages written with

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<sup>2</sup> As will be argued in § 3.6.2, it is not always the case that text-messaging is emically perceived as computer-mediated.



Roman characters only and a rest 8.7% (N: 39) where both alphabets are used within single messages. At first glance, these findings seem to contradict the initial hypothesis according to which the Roman alphabet is primarily used in text-messaging among young Greeks.

SAMPLES			ALPHABET			TOTAL
			Greek	Roman	Mixed	
QUESTIONNAIRES	school setting		64	7	12	83
	leisure setting		55	8	13	76
CASE-STUDIES	case-study (group 1)	Fay	81	0	2	83
		Nana	54	0	3	57
		Melina	0	5	0	5
		Anna	0	29	0	29
		Dimitra	24	0	2	26
	case-study (group 2)	Elisavet	20	0	1	21
		Maria	23	0	1	24
	case-study (group 3)	Kostas	19	0	2	21
		Nikos	11	0	1	12
		Manos	8	0	2	10
TOTAL			359	49	39	447

Table 3.2. Alphabetical encoding in the data

3.5. Greek alphabet

The vast majority of the messages collected (80.3%, N: 359) are written with Greek characters exclusively.<sup>3</sup> Focusing on the questionnaire sample which consists of messages sent by 159 participants (aged between 14 and 24 years old), we observe that those encoded in the Greek alphabet outnumber the other two categories: 74.2% (n: 119) of the sample is written with Greek characters, compared to 9.4% (n: 15)

<sup>3</sup> Other studies on Greek text-messaging, e.g. Lambrinidi and Depasta (2004), Vrouzi and Panzari (2002), have also noticed the prevalence of Greek characters in Greek text-messaging. However, their findings are reported as a mere observation and do not appear grounded on a detailed, quantitative and/or qualitative, analysis of alphabetical encoding in their data.



written in Roman and 16.4% (n: 25) encoded with mixed, Greek and Roman, characters. Assuming that writing Greek in the Roman alphabet is popularly regarded as a non-standard practice, it is worth considering whether the above results are affected by the setting of data collection. In other words, we might expect that the data gathered in the formal setting (school) exhibit standard features, whereas the messages transcribed in informal, leisurely, settings are written in Greeklish. As shown in figure 3.1, the prevalence of messages written in the Greek alphabet is obvious in both data sets. However, we should note that the percentage of messages belonging to the other, non-standard, forms of writing slightly increases in leisure settings (27.6%/ n: 21, compared to 22.9%, n: 19 in the school setting).

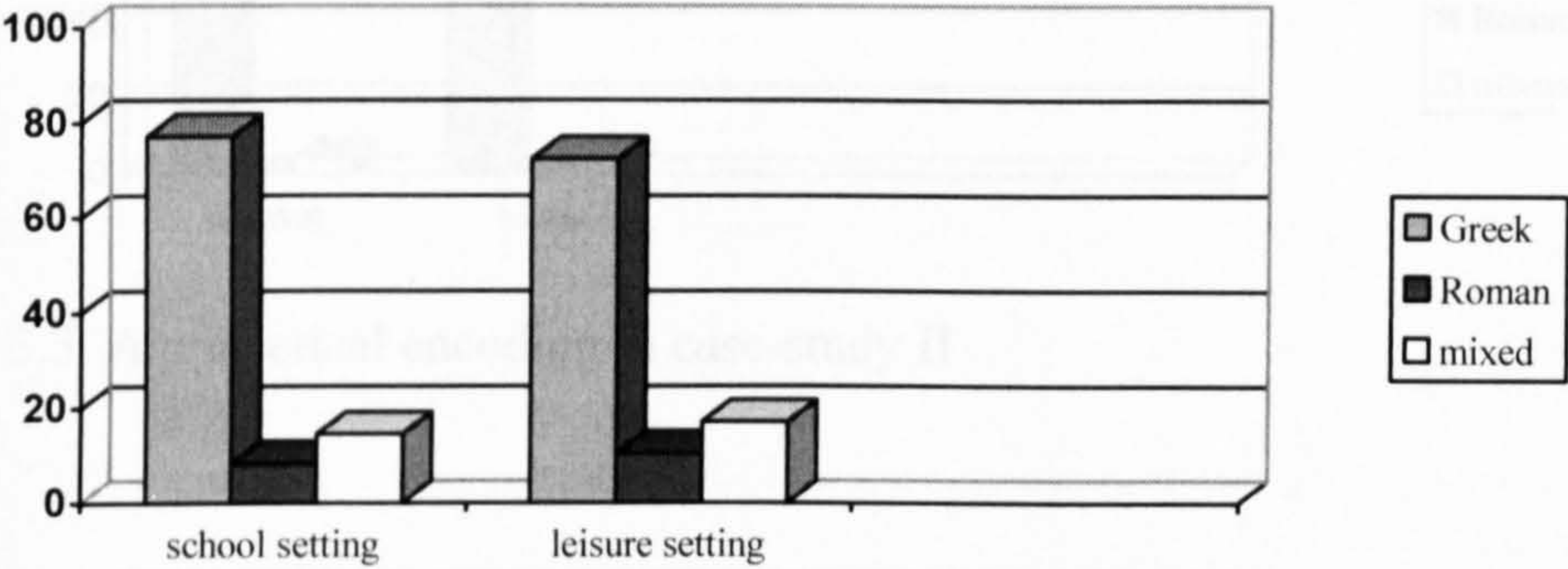


Figure 3.1. Alphabetical encoding in the questionnaire sample

Nevertheless, we should not discount the possibility that the process of transcribing text-messages into a questionnaire form may encourage the use of the Greek, instead of the Roman, alphabet. For that reason, we should also consult the data collected from the case-studies, where the data collection technique preserves the digital form of the original messages and, thus, minimizes any risks of error during transcription (see § 2.3.3). In fact, we observe that eight out of the ten participants consistently use



the Greek alphabet as the default option in the encoding of their messages<sup>4</sup> (see figures 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 for each case-study respectively).

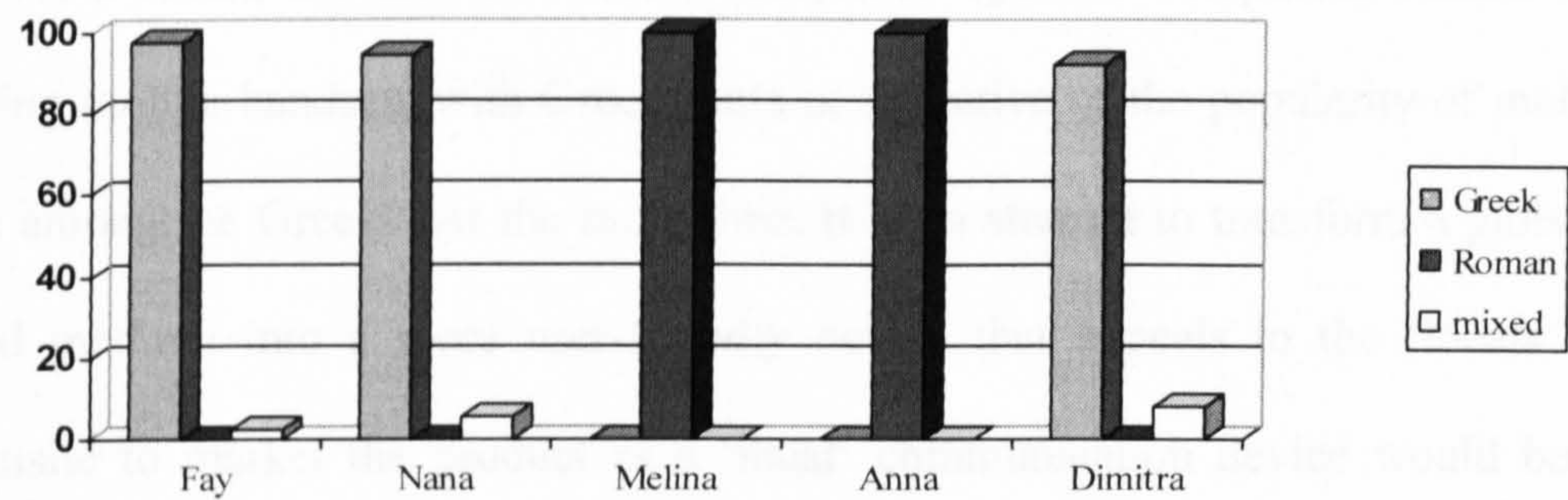


Figure 3.2. Alphabetical encoding in case-study I

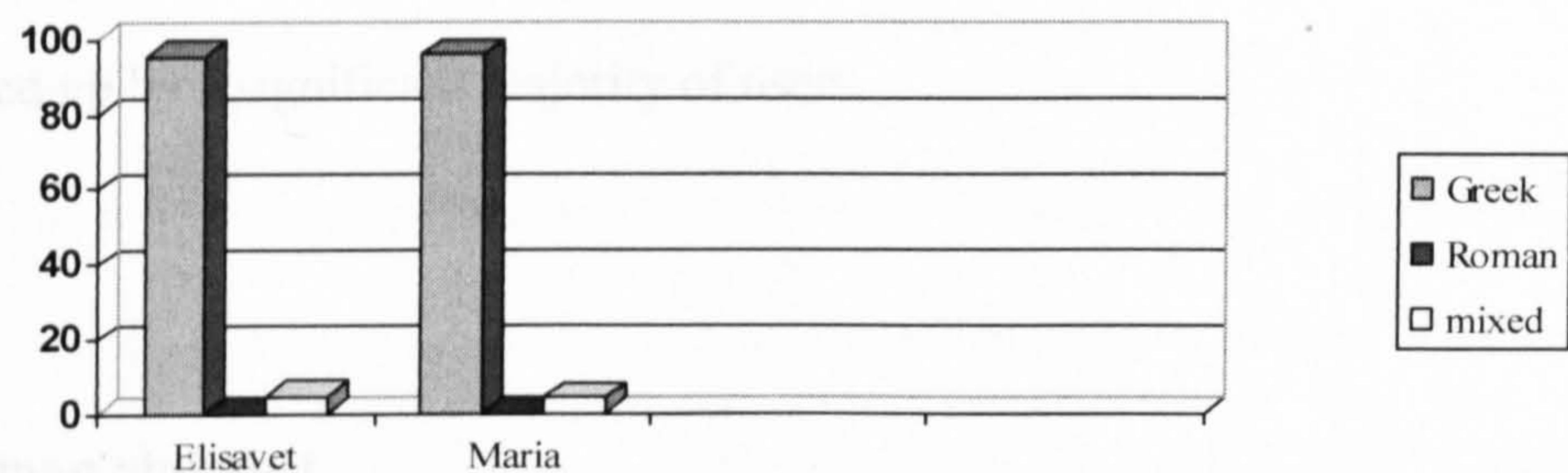


Figure 3.3. Alphabetical encoding in case-study II

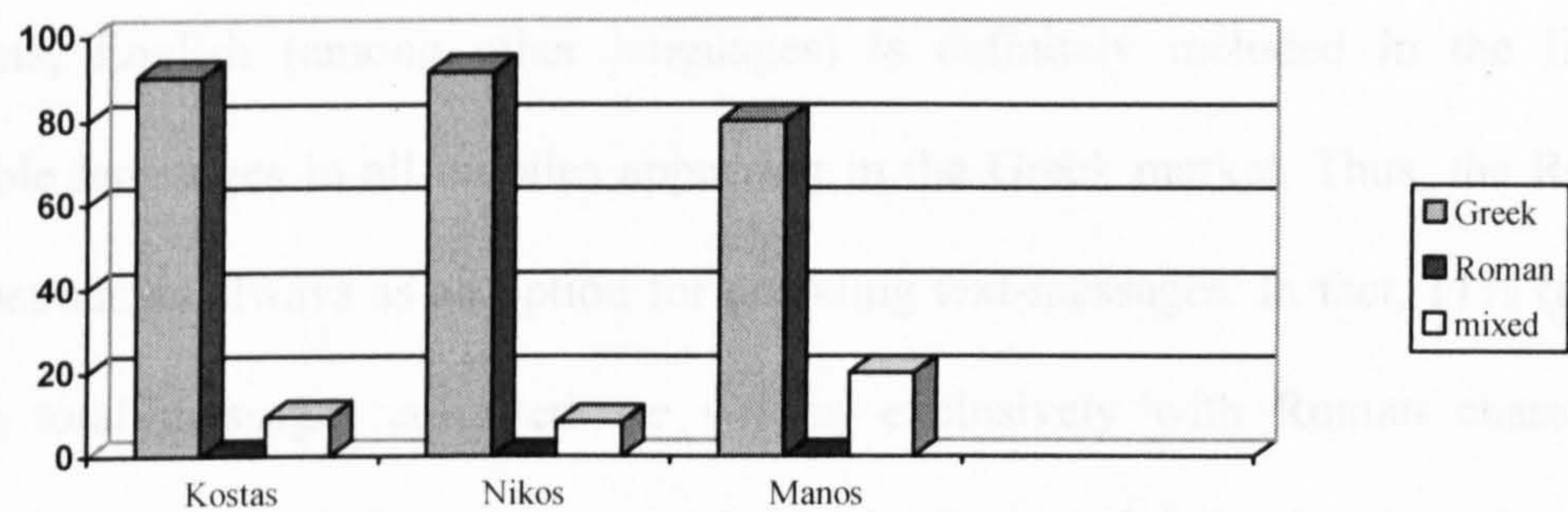


Figure 3.4. Alphabetical encoding in case-study III

The wide use of Greek characters in text-messaging is, of course, related to the rapid technological advances of the medium itself. At the time of data collection, most

<sup>4</sup> Note that the Greek alphabet is the unmarked choice even in the messages with mixed characters (see § 3.7 in this chapter).



mobile handsets allowed users to pre-select Greek as the default language of the phone's menu. As suggested in CMC literature, the availability of localized software and fonts is related to the market volume of national cultures (cf. Androutsopoulos 2006). As a result, the fact that mobile telephone operator companies rushed into equipping mobile handsets with Greek fonts is indicative of the popularity of mobile phones among the Greeks. At the same time, it is an attempt to transform a globally diffused medium into a more user-friendly device that appeals to the 'locals'. A prerequisite to market the product as a 'local' communication device would be to afford users keying in their messages in the standard Greek script. This technological affordance – not available at the first steps of mobile telephony in Greece – appears to be picked up by a significant majority of users.

### **3.6. Roman alphabet**

While Greek can be offered as a choice in the language menu of most mobile handsets, English (among other languages) is definitely included in the list of available languages in all mobiles appearing in the Greek market. Thus, the Roman alphabet stands always as an option for encoding text-messages. In fact, 11% (n: 49) of the total messages collected are written exclusively with Roman characters. Although the number of messages encoded in the Roman alphabet is relatively small, an issue to be explored would be the language(s) that users employ in their Roman-alphabeted messages. In other words, given that the informants taking part in the research project are Greek, which language(s) do they use when they write with Roman characters?

Samples		<i>Messages written in the Roman alphabet</i>		Total
		<i>English</i>	<i>Greek(-lish)</i>	
Questionnaires	school setting	6	1	7
	leisure setting	2	6	8
Case-study (1)	Melina	0	5	5
	Anna	0	29	29
Total		8	41	49

Table 3.3. Roman-alphabeted texts in the data

3.6.1. English

Given that the Roman alphabet is not employed for the writing of standard Modern Greek, we can speculate that the text-messages written in Roman may appear in linguistic codes other than Greek. As shown in table 3.3, English is the language of a very small percentage of the total sample (1.8%/ n: 8) and represents only the 16.3% of the Roman-alphabeted text-messages. The specific set of messages appears exclusively in the sample collected through the questionnaire survey. But why would Greeks use English as their language for communication?

The above question does not have a straightforward answer, especially since the particular set comes from an anonymous survey. Thus, we do not have sufficient information about the identity of the original senders or other contextual information regarding the specific messages. However, their content might suggest an explanation

for the use of English in Greek text-messaging. More specifically, the majority<sup>5</sup> (n: 6) of messages written in English belong to the category of ‘chain messages’. Such messages are fixed in form and remain unchanged regardless of recipient or context of use. In my data, these fixed text-messages concern lyrics (see message 1), jokes (message 2), or assertions of love and friendship (message 3).

Message 1 [12]

TRUST I SEEK AND I FIND IN YOU,  
EVERYDAY FOR US SOMETHING NEW,  
OPEN MIND FOR A DIFFERENT VIEW AND  
NOTHING ELSE MATTERS.

Questionnaire sample, female, 16-yr-old

Message 2 [22]

This cat,is cat,a cat,good cat,way cat,to cat,keep  
cat,an cat, idiot cat, busy cat,for cat,20 cat, second  
cat!!!! Noy [sic] read it all without the word  
cat.

Questionnaire sample, male, 19-yr-old

Message 3 [3]

www.friends com Found!

Loading...

10%    |||||

30%    |||||||||

100%   |||||||||||||

Done!

message:

OUR FRIENDSHIP Saved 4EVER!!!

Questionnaire sample, female, 14-yr-old

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<sup>5</sup> Out of the six text-messages written in English, there are only two examples (see messages 11 and 37 in appendix IV) of non-chain, i.e. personal, messages. By personal, I mean that they are not fixed in form and content and they are interactionally-oriented. In other words, they seem to be explicitly addressed to a single person and embedded in a specific interactional episode.



The English language used in such messages seems to be related with their explicit references to popular culture. In particular, the lyrics quoted in the text-messages originate in Anglo-American popular music. For instance, message (1) is the refrain from the popular song 'Nothing Else Matters' of 'Metallica', a well-known heavy-metal band. Drawing on such a resource seems to play a role in the participants' choice to write their messages in English. In other words, the practice of quoting lyrics from popular songs urges participants to use the language in which the particular words had been originally written and sung, i.e. English. However, I argue that this language choice does not only arise from a need to be faithful to the original. In addition, the use of English, along with the allusions to the context of popular culture, seems to be related to the type(s) of self-presentation the user/writer intends to project. Thus, it serves as a means for the particular informants' affiliation with the Anglo-American youth popular culture. Given that chain messages 'are the most crystallized form of collective text messaging behaviour' (Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002: 179), they contribute to the development of a shared repertoire of resources for the users of text-messaging.

However, the allusions to popular culture may be invoked not only by the content of a message but also by its form. For instance, I argue that the use of English in message 3 is linked to its format which resembles more a web page on the Internet rather than a text-message. Here, the allusions to digital culture capitalise on some common characteristics of the two media (text-messaging and Internet). More specifically, scrolling down the particular message, displayed on a mobile's screen, creates a visual effect similar to a web page downloading on the Internet. Therefore, the choice of English, as the 'established lingua franca' of the Internet (Danet & Herring, 2003: 1),

reinforces the allusions to digital culture as a shared resource through which members of this community of practice (Wenger, 1998: 72) construct their youth identity.

3.6.2. Greek (or ‘Greeklish’)

As shown in table 3.3, compared to the small percentage (16.3%/ n: 8) of English messages, the rest (83.7%/ n: 41) of the text-messages encoded in Roman are written in ‘Greeklish’. As noted before, the initial hypothesis on the basis of popular representations and academic research on computer-mediated communication in Greece suggests that Greeklish would be the unmarked choice in text-messaging. However, in my data the text-messages written in Greeklish represent only the 9.2% (N: 41) of the total messages collected. Regarding the transliteration system employed by the participants, it seems that the participants employ a combination of the two systems, phonetic and orthographic<sup>6</sup> (see message 4).

Message 4 [30]

Manthouli irthame Fridays pagрати gia gluko.thes	[little] <i>Manthos</i> we’ve popped to Fridays [in]
na peraseis?	<i>pagрати</i> for dessert.want to come by?
Questionnaire sample, female, 21-yr-old	

On the basis of the questionnaire survey which gives us a picture of the practices of a wider population sample, the percentage of participants who encoded their messages in Greeklish amounts to 4.4% (n: 7), almost equal to those who write in English, i.e.

<sup>6</sup> We observe below how message 4 would be written in Greek and, then, transliterated according to a strictly phonetic or orthographic system.

	Μανθούλη ήρθαμε Fridays Παγκράτι για γλυκό. Θες να περάσεις;
Phonetic:	Manthuli irthame Fridays pagрати gia gliko.thes na perasis?
Orthographic:	Man8oulh hr8ame Fridays pagрати gia gluko.8es na peraseis?

5% (n: 8). These numbers are in stark contrast to Androutsopoulos' findings (2000b: 80) according to which 51% of the Greeks living in Greece and participating in his study answered that they use Greeklish in most or all of their emails. Given that previous studies (Androutsopoulos, 2000b; Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou, 2003; Tseliga, 2003) have suggested that Greeklish is the unmarked choice in Greek computer-mediated communication, we could argue that text-messaging, despite its technological affiliations to other electronic media, is in practice positioned at a distance from the conventions of computer-mediated communication.

In fact, further evidence for this is provided by the case-studies as well. As already mentioned, eight out of the ten participants encode their text-messages in Greek characters exclusively. Considering each group separately, we note that all the members in group 2 and 3 use the Greek alphabet only, whereas among the first group Anna and Melina write in Greeklish, compared to the rest, Fay, Nana and Dimitra who use the Greek alphabet as default. More specifically, Fay and Nana, who are the most eager 'text-messagers' in their group, claim that the two media, text-messaging and computers, bear 'no resemblance at all' (interview). In addition, both of them loathe computers (interview) and never use Greeklish in their text-messages. But why do two other members of the same group, Anna and Melina, prefer Greeklish in their text-messages?

The technological system and its affordances have been found to play an important role in Anna's exclusive use of Greeklish over the period of data collection. Her old technology mobile phone did not facilitate the encoding with Greek characters. In other words, it was time-consuming to key in messages in Greek, since the Greek



characters appeared on the screen after the Roman ones. According to my fieldnotes, when she upgraded to a phone supporting Greek as the default language, she immediately stopped using Greeklish. At the same time, she turned to the Greek version of predictive text (T9) input, because ‘it saved her time’<sup>7</sup>. Evidently, time and speed in texting appeared extremely important for Anna. The above changes in the participant’s use of text-messaging, which coincide with developments in mobile technology, indicate that both users of text-messaging and designers of mobile telephony orient to speed in typing (cf. Thurlow, 2003b: 13).

However, the choice of alphabet does not depend solely on whether the technological system facilitates the use of the one or the other alphabet. Evidence from another member of the same group indicates that graphic choices in text-messaging may be attributed to other, non-technological, parameters. For instance, Melina continued to use Greeklish, even after having upgraded her phone and, thus, been able to text with Greek characters. In her interview, she claims that her use of Greeklish allows the other members of the group to readily identify her as the sender of a particular text, even without consulting the system’s display of caller ID.<sup>8</sup> In other words, the specific graphic choice has been found to operate as a cue – or a ‘visual signature’ (cf. Jaffe 2002: 509) – for self-identification within the peer group. Therefore, as Thurlow (2003b: 20) tentatively argues, users of text-messaging employ the graphic representation of a text as a resource for self-presentation and identification.

Furthermore, the choice of Greeklish as the default script has been found in my data to relate with the participants’ use of and stance towards other computer media. For

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<sup>7</sup> This is a translated extract from her interview.

<sup>8</sup> Mobile phones are equipped with a system that identifies by default the phone number of incoming calls or messages and, in turn, displays it on the phone’s screen.

example, Melina associated her writing in text-messaging with the way she composed a text on a computer. In particular, the use of Roman characters was presented in her interview (see extract 1) as one among a series of practices that had been transposed from computer-writing to text-messaging.

Extract 1 (Melina, interview, September 2003)

*Γράφω όπως γράφω στους υπολογιστές. Πέρα που χρησιμοποιώ αγγλικά γράμματα για να γράψω ελληνικό κείμενο, αφήνω πάντα κενό μετά το θαυμαστικό ή το κόμμα ή σημεία στίξης, όπως θα' κανα στο κομπιούτερ.*

I write [i.e. a text] as I write [i.e. type] on a computer. In addition to using English fonts to write a Greek text, I always leave a space after an exclamation mark or a comma or punctuation marks, as I would on a computer.

As mentioned before, the claim that Greeklish, originating in text-based CMC, has infiltrated youth's text-messaging has been very popular in newspaper and media articles. However, Melina who does not employ the standard Greek script and draws a parallel between texting and computers represents the participant sending the least messages in the specific group (see § 2.3.4). On the other hand, my findings suggest that the unmarked, Greek, script is employed not only by the majority of my participants but also among those who represent the most keen users of text-messaging (i.e. Fay and Nana). Therefore, despite the technological affiliation of text-messaging to digital writing picked up in the practices of computer literate texters, the unmarked choice of script in the new medium does not follow the norms of writing in computer-mediated environments. However, the documented use of either Greek or Roman characters in encoding Greek text-messages indicates that the norms in the new medium are not yet established. As Danet (2001: 363) argues, 'in a period of normative ambiguity, people drew on their experiences' in order to juggle the constraints of norms in pre-existing related genres and the challenges put forward in the new mediated context. Indeed, the above analysis has revealed that the choice of

script in Greek text-messaging is linked with the participants' previous experience of writing in digital media.

### **3.7. Roman and Greek**

The focus of analysis in this section shifts from the use of either Greek or Roman as the default alphabet in text-messaging to the co-occurrence of both alphabets within individual messages. As mentioned earlier, the technological system of SMS affords the typing of both Greek and Roman characters. However, keying in Roman characters while Greek language has been pre-selected, or vice versa, requires more keystrokes and, thus, more time. Considering that users of text-messaging orient to speed in typing, as suggested in the section above, we would expect participants to avoid shifting between alphabets. Indeed, only 39 text-messages – that is, 8.7% – of the total sample have been found encoded with mixed, Greek and Roman, characters (see table 3.1). With regard to the pattern of alphabet-alternation in my data, my analysis suggests that the Greek alphabet represents the main, script, frame within which switches to Roman characters take place. As evident in table 3.1, the text-messages encoded with mixed characters are sent only by the participants in my case-studies who have chosen the Greek alphabet as default. At the same time, message 5, originating in my questionnaire sample, illustrates that switches to Roman operate at the level of individual words (e.g. 'U.F.O') or phrases which occur in otherwise Greek-encoded messages. In terms of figures, only 10% (n: 67) of the total words (n: 668) in the specific texts are written in Roman. Therefore, the Greek alphabet is still



employed as the default script even among the messages encoded with both Greek and Roman alphabets.

Message 5 [10]

Αν δεις σήμερα το βράδυ να μπαίνει απ' το	If you see a ray of bright moonlight coming
παράθυρό σου μια λαμπερή ακτίδα του	through your window tonight, don't send it
φεγγαριού, μην την διώξεις..... U.F.O είναι,	away..... It's a U.F.O, they came to take you
ήρθαν να σε πάρουν πίσω στην πατρίδα. XI!XI!!!	back home. HE!HE!!!
Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old	

In the following analysis, I will explore how switches to the Roman alphabet operate within the boundaries of individual text-messages. As evidenced in the previous section, the Roman alphabet is employed for the encoding of text-messages either in Greek (Greeklish, see § 3.6.2) or, rarely, in English (see § 3.6.1). Having established this distinction between Roman-alphabetized Greek and Roman-alphabetized English at the level of encoding text-messages as a whole, we can speculate that switches to the Roman alphabet within individual messages either occur within the main language frame, i.e. Greek and, thus, fall under the use of Greeklish or deviate from the main language frame and, thus, instantiate a switch to another linguistic code.

### 3.7.1. Switches to Roman-alphabetized Greek (Greeklish)

Switches to Greeklish, i.e. to Roman-alphabetized Greek, within messages written in the Greek alphabet as default are very rare in the data. We find only five such instances (1.1 % of the total sample) among the messages in the questionnaire sample. Despite the reservations, outlined in § 2.3.2, regarding the treatment of this sample for

exploring typographic issues, the systematicity in the examples attracts our attention. More specifically, I note that although the particular text-messages have been transcribed by different participants in different settings, the transliterations observed concern two specific alphabetical characters (with the exception of message 20 in appendix IV).<sup>9</sup> Namely, the Greek letters ‘Σ’ and ‘Ω’ appear transliterated into ‘S’ (message 6), and ‘W’ (message 7). Note the transliteration of ‘Ω’/‘ω’ into ‘W’ and not ‘O’, which indicates an orientation to the orthographic system of transliterating Greek into Roman (see § 3.3).

Message 6 [21]

Η ΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΙΣΧΥΡΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΗ ΠΟΥ ΜΕΡΙΚΕΣ ΦΟΡΕΣ ΕΚΜΗΔΕΝΙΖΕΙ ΤΗ ΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΡΘΗ ΚΡΙΣΗ.ΑΝ Η ΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΑΙΧΝΙΔΙ,ΑΥΤΟΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΟΙ ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ!	LOVE IS A POWERFUL FORCE WHICH AT TIMES ANNIHILATES REASON AND JUDGMENT. IF LOVE IS A GAME, THESE ARE THE RULES!
--	---

Questionnaire sample, male, 18-yr-old

Message 7 [13]

ΘΕΛΩ ΝΑ ΠΑΩ,ΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΟΜΑ ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΙΠΟΤΑ ΣΙΓΟΥΡΟ 100%-ΣΤΗΝ ΑΝΟΙΞΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ+ ΔΕΝ ΞΕΡΩ,ΟΥΤΕ ΓΙΑ ΩΡΑ-ΤΩΡΑ ΓΙΑ ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΙΚΟ ΜΕΣΟΝ,Η'ΛΕΩΦΟΡΕΙΟ,Η' ΑΥΤΟΚ.	I WANNA GO,THOUGH NOTHING IS CERTAIN YET-IT'S (in) ANIKSI+ I DON'T KNOW,(about the) TIME EITHER-NOW AS FOR TRANSPORT, EITHER BUS, OR CAR
---	---

Questionnaire sample, female, 16-yr-old

Although the particular data collection technique provides us with little contextual information, the systematic preference for the specific two Roman characters instead of the Greek equivalents might indicate the reasons for the switch. In fact, I suspect that the encoding of the particular letters in Roman occurs due to system limitations. It

<sup>9</sup> The encoding of the particular example (see message 20 in appendix IV), transcribed in my questionnaires, appears to constantly alternate between different scripts.

should be noted that in old technology mobile phones the Roman characters were typed before the Greek ones and the specific two letters, ‘Σ’ and ‘Ω’, were the only ones to appear last in a sequence of seven characters. Thus, the users had to stroke the relevant keys seven times. Given that the rest of the Greek characters could be keyed in with less than seven strokes, we may argue that typing the equivalent Roman character saved users effort and time.

Apart from the above cases of ‘Greeklish’ at the level of individual letters, there is one more instance of Greek written with Roman characters at the word-level (message 8). The particular message is divided into two parts in terms of alphabetical encoding. The first part consists of a list of currencies, e.g. *Lires*, *Euro*, *Yen*, and *Draxmes*, written with Roman characters. The use of Greeklish is evident in the encoding of the Greek nouns for British currency *Lires* (pounds) and Greek ex-currency *Draxmes* (drachmas). However, we cannot argue the same for the other words in the list, e.g. *Euro* and *Yen*. These two words have been incorporated into the Greek language and have become part of its lexicon, after having been assimilated both phonetically (i.e. /evro/ and /jen/) and graphemically (i.e. ‘ευρώ’/ ‘εύρο’ and ‘γεν’). Therefore, it is not clear whether the graphemic switch represents a Greek word written in the Roman alphabet - similar to Greeklish *Lires*, for instance – or instantiates a switch to another linguistic code. It seems that this example raises the issue of ‘what counts as a linguistic code’ which will be addressed below (see § 3.7.3).

#### Message 8 [14]

«Lires» «Euro» «Yen» «Draxmes» Τελικά είσαι  
όλα τα λεφτά

Questionnaire sample, female, 16-yr-old

“Pounds” “Euro” “Yen” “Drachmas” At the end  
of the day you’re all the money



However, beyond the issue of whether these words instantiate a code-switch or not, the graphemic switch adds to the message a visual effect which readily divides it into two parts. The first part, encoded in Roman, concerns a list of currencies and each word is separated from the rest by the use of quotation marks. On the other hand, the second part, encoded in the Greek alphabet, concerns the punch line *είσαι όλα τα λεφτά* (literally meaning ‘you’re all the money’), a slang expression for ‘you’re so perfect’. In other words, the graphemic switch, along with the use of other graphemic devices (e.g. quotation marks), visually divides the message into two parts and, ultimately, emphasizes the punch line in the second part.

### 3.7.2. Categories of Roman-alphabetized words/phrases

Having looked at the instances (n: 5) of graphemic switches to Greeklish, this section will focus on the remaining 34, out of the total 39, Greek default messages in which Roman-alphabetized words or phrases have been found. More specifically, I will argue that this graphemic choice is related to the insertion of foreign language material which spans along a continuum from established borrowings to insertional code-switching. Before exploring why my participants override the principle of ‘saving-a-keystroke’ and switch to another alphabetical encoding, I will attempt to identify the categories of Roman-alphabetized words/phrases occurring in the sample of Greek default text-messages, which are briefly presented, along with their frequency of occurrence, in table 3.4.

Categories of Roman-alphabeted words in Greek default texts	Instances of occurrence (n: 34)	
	n	%
Names	9	26.5
Cultural borrowings	8	23.5
Conversational routines	13	38.2
Intertextual references	4	11.8

Table 3.4. Types and frequency of Roman-alphabeted words in Greek default texts

(a) Names

Switches to the Roman alphabet have been found to occur in the encoding of proper nouns (n: 9) which are borrowed from a foreign language. As shown in message 9, the Roman alphabet is preferred for the encoding of the name *alex*; that is, the English short form of the Greek name ‘Αλεξάνδρα’. The remaining instances of Roman-alphabeted words in the data concern: cigarette brand names, e.g. *DAVIDOFF* [115]<sup>10</sup>, computer games, e.g. *cm4* [1] and *PLAYSTATION* (or games, in general, like *Banjie Jumping*), names of places, such as clubs, e.g. *CHIMERA*, cities, e.g. *MANCHESTER*, coffee shops, e.g. *PASSAGIO* [16], and fast food restaurants, e.g. *MAC* [83], for ‘McDonalds’.

Message 9 [67]

Κ BEBAIA NA ΠΑΡΕΙΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕ ΚΑΝΕΝΑ	OF COURSE YOU CAN CALL BUT IN
TETAPTO ΓΙΑΤΙ ΣΤΟ ΕΝΑ ΜΙΛΑΕΙ Η ΜΑΜΑ	ABOUT A QUARTER CUASE MOM IS
Κ ΣΤΟ ΑΛΛΟ Η alex!ΠΑΡΕ ΣΤΟ 0000000000!	TALKING ON THE ONE [line] [a]N[d] alex ON
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ	THE OTHER!CALL AT 0000000000! [little]
	KISSES

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 13/01/04 – texter: Nana, time: 20.01

<sup>10</sup> The numbers in square brackets [ ] refer to messages in appendix IV.

(b) Cultural borrowings

In addition to the above non-Greek names, common nouns borrowed from English have also been found encoded with Roman characters. This category includes mainly cultural borrowings, i.e. nouns denoting new objects and concepts, which have been integrated into Greek at different historical periods. The borrowings (n: 8) identified in my data are both long-established loans, such as the nouns *STUDIO* (see message 10; [138]), *MAKE UP*, and the acronyms *U.F.O* [10] and *SOS*, and more recently integrated borrowings, such as *SMS*, *PIN*, and (web) *site* [36].

Message 10 [137]

PE SY ΦΙΛΑΡΑΚΙ ΘΑ ΡΘΕΙΣ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ  
STUDIO?ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΝΑ ΡΘΕΙΣ ΜΕ 218?

[re-particle] (hey) YOU MATE WILL YOU POP  
BY THE STUDIO TODAY?CAN YOU TAKE  
THE 218 (bus)?

Case-study III, participants: Manos and Kostas, day: 22/09/03 – texter: Mános, time: 10.47

(c) Conversational routines

The third category of Roman-alphabetized items within Greek-default messages concerns English conversational routines. According to Coulmas' (1981: 67-69) and Androutsopoulos' (2004: 6-8) use of the term, the descriptive category of 'verbal routines' refers to fixed linguistic forms which are repeatedly employed in a particular context. In other words, these items develop through repetition a rather fixed relationship between form and context and are gradually considered as the most appropriate to use in specific situations by the members of a community or culture. Such conversational routines, mainly borrowed from English, are encoded with Roman characters in my data. More specifically, the following instances (n: 13) have been identified among the messages collected: (i) opening and closing greetings, such as 'hello' [57], 'hi' [19], 'bye' [19], 'CU', 'ADIOS', (ii) expressive speech acts, like



‘SORRY’ [70], ‘Pleeeese’[sic], ‘THANKS’, (iii) terms of address, e.g. ‘man’ [130], ‘chief’, and (iv) the discourse marker ‘ok’<sup>11</sup> (see message 11).

Message 11 [7]

ΔΕΝ ΜΠΟΡΩ ΤΕΛΙΚΑ ΝΑ ΒΓΩ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ	I CANNOT GO OUT TODAY AFTER ALL I
ΕΧΩ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΑΚΟΜΑ ΓΙΑ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΜΑ. ΘΑ	HAVE STILL LOADS TO READ. WE’LL GO
ΒΓΟΥΜΕ ΚΑΠΟΙΑ ΑΛΛΗ ΦΟΡΑ. Ok;	OUT SOME OTHER TIME. Ok?

Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

(d) Intertextual references

Finally, the Roman alphabet is employed for the encoding of intertextual references, originating from a language and/or culture other than Greek. These references (n: 4) include English quotations, such as lyrics from popular songs [12], punch lines from advertisements, web addresses [36], and other non-identified phrases, like the supposedly (American) Indian prayer occurring in message 12.

Message 12 [8]

Sikana Lamile bowama likile Umdodo jarat	Sikana Lamile bowama likile Umdodo jarat
Forsakala bi... Μολις εκανες 11νδιανικη	Forsakala bi... You’ve just made an (American)
προσευχη για να παχυνει ο κωλος σου!!! :-D	Indian prayer that turns your ass bigger!!! :-)

Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

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<sup>11</sup> Although we cannot discern Greek from Roman characters in the upper-case script of ‘OK’, my analysis here is based on instances of ‘ok’ written in lower case. Thus, we can identify and contrast the variant alphabetical encodings in terms of the difference in the typographic characters ‘k’ and ‘κ’.

### **3.7.3. Alphabet-switch and code-insertion phenomena**

The categories of words and phrases encoded in Roman, as outlined above, can be placed along a continuum which ranges from rather conventional borrowings to more locally salient code-switching. The distinction between code-switching and borrowings has been a largely controversial issue in studies of spoken bilingual interaction. For instance, Reyes (1976: 184) proposes the term 'borrowing' in order to distinguish the use of single-lexeme items of another language from phrases or larger constituents, which instantiate cases of code-switching. In other studies (e.g. Haugen, 1973: 521), the criterion for separating code-switching and borrowing has been the degree of assimilation into the recipient language. According to this criterion, code-switching includes both single, 'unassimilated', words and larger discourse units, whereas borrowings refer to words that have been integrated into the phonological, morphological or syntactic system of the recipient language (cf. Poplack, 1981). However, recent studies (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993; Auer, 1998) have shown that the degree of assimilation or the syntactic structure (i.e. single-lexeme or larger constituent) of a borrowed item are not adequate criteria for distinguishing between the two phenomena. In fact, clear-cut boundaries between borrowings and code-switching are not easy to be drawn.

Furthermore, Auer (1998: 13) points out that what counts as a 'linguistic code' is not easily defined, especially if we wish to take into account the participants' and not the linguists' definition of the term. Theoretically speaking, the co-occurrence of two distinct languages, from the linguist's point of view, does not represent a priori a case of juxtaposition between the two codes. According to Auer (1998: 16), language

contact situations span along a continuum from code-switching to a mixed code. On the one end of the continuum, code-switching, in its strong sense, refers to language contact cases where a preference for one language-of-interaction is locally challenged and the ultimate switch to another code foregrounds contextual aspects, such as a change in the participants' stance, their ongoing activities, etc. At the opposite end of the spectrum, code-mixing is conceptualised more like 'a language variety or style' (Androutsopoulos, 2004: 3) which involves the frequent use of borrowings or other language materials from another linguistic code, excluding even the equivalent forms in the language frame of interaction. At the same time, research on bilingual code-switching has brought about another distinction between alternation and insertion. The phenomenon of code-alternation refers to the use of two codes in interaction where both languages equally alternate one another. On the other hand, insertion presupposes the use of a 'matrix language' (Myers-Scotton, 1995) providing a frame in which linguistic items from another language can be embedded.

The above list of Roman-encoded words and phrases in my data reveals that the Roman alphabet is preferred for writing linguistic items borrowed from another language, primarily English, and embedded into the matrix/frame language of Greek. Therefore, I argue that the graphemic switch indexes the insertion of foreign language material into Greek text-messaging. Similar insertion phenomena have been documented in other monolingual mediated discourse, such as German music magazines and online guest-books (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2004). The process of insertion in Androutsopoulos' data does not co-occur with alphabet switches of the type described above, since the Roman script can be employed for the standard writing of English and German alike. However, the examples quoted in the specific



article (idem) suggest that other devices, such as capitalization, are employed as a means of graphemically marking, together with emphasizing, English phrases embedded in the German texts. On the other hand, evidence for the co-occurrence of alphabet switches to Roman with insertion of English words is provided by studies of written interaction in languages with non-Roman standard script. For example, Kataoka (1997: 117) has identified a similar phenomenon ('importation') in letter-writing among young Japanese females. The practice, though, of employing the original Roman script for the encoding of foreign language material cannot be attributed to the participants' drive for authenticity and conformity to writing standards. In fact, the analysis of punctuation and capitalization in my data (see chapter 4) has yielded the opposite results corroborating with a greater laxity by my participants in the application of grammatical rules in text-messaging. The following section will attempt to discuss the graphic switch to Roman in relation to the co-occurring insertion phenomena and argue why this practice appears in mediated interaction among young people in local cultures, such as Greece.

#### **3.7.4. From borrowings to code-switching**

As mentioned before, the Roman-encoded items, embedded into Greek default text-messages, span along a continuum between established borrowings and intertextual code-switching. Starting from the one end of the continuum, **conventional borrowings** refer to (more or less) standard loans which are widely established and accepted within a particular community. The incorporation of borrowed items in the dictionaries of a national language is indicative of a higher degree of standardisation.

In other words, these borrowings are not only widely accepted but also legitimized by the ‘educated’ community of the specific culture. At the same time, such loans exhibit signs of structural integration by being assimilated to the graph(em)ic, phonological and, at times, morphological system of the receiving language. Among the Roman-encoded words listed above, long-established cultural borrowings, such as ‘SOS’, ‘UFO’ [10], ‘MAKE UP’ and ‘STUDIO’ [137], appear coded in the Modern Greek dictionaries (cf. Babinotis, 1998). Their high degree of integration is also manifest in the fact that they are syntactically incorporated into the sentence structure and, at times, written in the standard Greek script. For example, the same participant (i.e. Manos from the third case-study) interchangeably uses Roman or Greek for the encoding of the same loan, ‘studio’ (cf. messages 10 and 13).

#### Message 13 [133]

ΕΛΑ ΡΕ..Ο ΜΑΝΟΣ ΕΙΜΑΙ.ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΤΟ  
ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΕΙΣ ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ  
ΣΤΟΥΝΤΙΟ;

ELA RE[-particles] HEY..THIS IS MANOS. CAN  
YOU COME ON SATURDAY TO GO [to the]  
STUDIO?

Case-study III, participants: Manos and Kostas, day: 15/09/03 – texter: Manos, time: 11.57

In fact, the graph(em)ic assimilation of a loan correlates with the point of their integration into Greek. In particular, borrowed items denoting objects or concepts introduced to the Greek culture in the past, such as radio, cinema, waltz, etc, are encoded in the standard Greek script, e.g. *ΡΑΔΙΟ* (see message 14), *ΣΙΝΕΜΑ*, *ΒΑΛΣ*, etc.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The remaining instances of long-established borrowings in my sample are: *ΜΠΑΣΚΕΤ* (‘basket ball’), *ΤΟΥΙΝΤ* (‘tweed’), *ΝΤΡΑΜΕΡ* (‘drummer’), *ΣΤΑΝΤΑΡ* (‘standard’), *ΚΕΙΚ* (‘cake’), *ΡΟΖ* (from French ‘rose’, meaning ‘pink’), *ΡΕΠΟ* [98] (from French ‘repos’, meaning ‘time off’), *ΠΑΣΟ* [97, 98] (from Italian ‘passo’, meaning ‘pass’).

Message 14 [18]

TI EFINE NYSTAΞEE H ME  
BAPEΘHKEΣ;KAI EFΩ PAΔIO AKOYΩ.

WHAT'S UP ARE YOU SLEEPY OR BORED  
OF ME?I'M LISTENING TO THE RADIO  
TOO.

Questionnaire sample, male, 17-yr-old

On the other hand, the Roman alphabet is the preferred choice for the encoding of cultural borrowings, such as *SMS*, (web) *site* (see message 15), and *PIN*, which have been recently integrated into Greek together with the adoption of mobile phones and internet. This observation suggests that the variant Greek script of Roman-alphabetized borrowings emerges as they gradually become more conventionalized in the receiving community. Furthermore, we should bear in mind that although the use of the Roman-alphabetized *SMS*, (web) *site*, and *PIN* requires an extra keystroke for the alphabet switch, the insertion of these English words saves the participants both time and effort. In other words, the specific borrowings are considerably shorter than their Greek counterparts, such as ‘μήνυμα’ (*SMS*), ‘ιστοσελίδα’ (*site*), ‘κωδικός’ (*PIN*). Therefore, the insertion of these cultural borrowings orients to issues of brevity and speed in typing, which have been found relevant in the composition of text-messages.

Message 15 [36]

ΣΟΥ ΣΤΕΛΝΩ TO site TOY BATIKANOU GIA  
THN KAPEΛΛΑΣΙETINA:

(<http://mv.vatican.va/3~EN/pages/MV-visite.html>).ΦΙΛΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ

I SEND YOU THE VATICAN'S site FOR  
CAPELLA SIXTINA:

(<http://mv.vatican.va/3~EN/pages/MV-visite.html>). MANY KISSES

Questionnaire sample, female, 22-yr-old

The category of **names**, borrowed from a foreign language and written with Roman characters in my data, is also placed towards the ‘borrowing’ end of the continuum. As evident in the list of names, quoted in § 3.7.2, Roman characters are primarily



employed for the encoding of English names denoting commodities and corporations that have been recently integrated in the Greek culture, such as ‘PLAYSTATION’, ‘Banjie [*sic*] Jumping’, ‘MAC’ for ‘McDonalds’ (see message 16), etc. On the other hand, the Greek alphabet is preferred for writing non-English names, such as the football player *XATZIMEXMETOBITΣ* (see message 17), the French name ‘Olivier’, *OΛΙΒΙΕ*, the Vatican chapel ‘Capilla Sixtina’, *ΚΑΠΕΛΛΑΣΙΕΤΙΝΑ* [36], and the name of a trendy coffee shop at the centre of Athens, *ΝΤΑΚΑΠΟ* [43], borrowed from the Italian musical term ‘Da Capo’.

Message 16 [83]

ΜΕΛΙΝΑΚΙ ΝΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΑ 10.30	[little] MELINA LET’S SAY BETTER 10.30
ΣΤΟ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ ΕΞΩ ΑΠΟ ΤΑ ΜΑC ΓΙΑΤΙ	OUTSIDE MAC[sic] IN <i>SYNTAGMA</i> [square]
ΕΧΩ ΚΑΤΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΕΣ ΠΡΩΙ?Ε?ΑΝ ΝΑΙ	CAUSE I GOT SOME ERRANDS TO DO IN
ΚΑΝΕ ΑΝΑΠ!	THE MORNING?EH?IF IT’S OK MISSED
	CALL [me]!

Case-study I, participants: Melina and Dimitra, day: 26/09/03 – texter: Dimitra, time: 20.07

Message 17 [1]

ΠΕΣ ΚΑΝΕΝΑΝ ΠΑΙΚΤΗ ΣΤΟ cm4?Ο	NAME A PLAYER IN cm4? HOW IS
ΧΑΤΖΙΜΕΧΜΕΤΟΒΙΤΣ ΠΩΣ ΓΡΑΦΕΤΑΙ?	<i>CHATZIMECHMETOVITS</i> SPELLED?

Questionnaire sample, male, 14-yr-old

The above finding suggests that my participants are more familiar with writing English in the original Roman script rather than names originating in other languages. For example, message 17, incorporating a foreign name in the Greek script illustrates this point. The texter’s ignorance of the spelling of a non-English name of a foreign football player is actually the purpose of sending this text. This preference for encoding English names with Roman characters is related to the prevalence of English, as a *lingua franca*, in a globalized world. In other words, young people today

are more exposed to English written texts which circulate around the world through global media and corporations. Therefore, I argue that names borrowed from English are more likely to retain their graph(em)ic form in their adoption by local languages. At the same time, the participants can index their affiliation with global (popular) culture by employing the original Roman script.

The third category of Roman-encoded words, i.e. **conversational routines**, include linguistic items which span along the continuum from borrowings to code-switching. As Androutsopoulos (2004: 7-8) points out, such borrowed routines illustrate more clearly ‘the transition from switching to borrowing, i.e. the process in which salient items gradually become routinised’. The salience of borrowed items which are placed towards the code-switching end of the continuum is manifest in their position within the specific texts. As shown in message 18, punctuation is employed by my participants in order to separate such routines, like the greetings *hi* and *bye*, from the rest of the text. At the same time, these routines – not only the above opening and closing greetings but also other expressive speech acts, such as *THANKS* – have been found at the beginning and/or the end of a text. Thus, in terms of their position, these borrowed items frame the messages under consideration (cf. code-switching as framing in Androutsopoulos, 2004: 5). Furthermore, I argue that these code-switches, which correlate with a graphemic switch to Roman, indicate a shift in interpersonal orientation. More specifically, the openings and closings of a text-message show an explicit orientation towards the addressee, which becomes more apparent with the use of English terms of address, such as ‘chief’ and ‘man’ [130].

Message 18 [19]

Hi! TI KANEIS; XAΘHKAME!!! ΠΑΡΕ ΤΗΛ.  
NA KANONISOYME. ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ! BYE!!!

Hi! HOW ARE YOU? LONG TIME NO SEE!!!  
GIVE A RING TO ARRANGE. (little) KISSES!  
BYE!!!

Questionnaire sample, male, 17-yr-old

The transition from switching to borrowing is evident in the use of ‘sorry’, which has been found to be written either with Roman (n: 1), e.g. *Sorry* [70], or with Greek (n:3), e.g. ΣΟΠΙ (see message 19) / ΣΟΡΥ characters<sup>13</sup>. We observe that ‘sorry’ is the only word among the borrowings of this category that appears phonetically and graphemically assimilated in the messages of different participants. As mentioned above, standard loan words, such as ‘studio’, etc. have undergone the same assimilation. Therefore, although ‘sorry’ has not yet been coded as a loan in the dictionaries of standard Modern Greek, its use in terms of graphemic encoding is similar to the ways in which loan words are written. This observation, along with the increasingly wider use of the word in media publications and everyday language, implies that ‘sorry’ is in the process of becoming a standard loan word in Greek.

Message 19 [76]

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΝΑ ΠΑΡΩ Η  
ΚΟΙΜΑΣΑΙ?ΣΟΡΙ ΠΟΥ ΑΡΓΗΣΑ ΑΛΛΑ  
ΕΜΠΛΕΞΑ!

MY [little] BEAUTY CAN I CALL [you] OR  
ARE YOU ASLEEP?SORRY FOR BEING  
LATE BUT I’VE BEEN CAUGHT UP!

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 29/02/04 – texter: Fay, time: 00.01

The discourse marker ‘ok’, among the conversational routines quoted in § 3.7.2, occupies the ‘borrowing’ end of the continuum. The specific marker is coded in the dictionaries of standard Modern Greek and can be found in the data either with Roman or Greek characters (cf. messages 11 and 20). As for the graph(em)ic

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<sup>13</sup> The equivalent Greek form ‘συγγνώμη’ is also found in the data (see message 80 in the appendix).



assimilation of ‘ok’, it seems to coincide with its phonological appropriation. From my personal experience, ‘ok’ is pronounced among young people in Athens either as /oɛi/ or /ok/. The difference between the two variants is that /oɛi/ is closer to the original English pronunciation /oʊki/ and presupposes that the speaker either knows how to pronounce the written word *OK* in English as well or has heard the original English pronunciation. On the other hand, /ok/ represents a more Greek-oriented proferring of the word, which derives from reading the graphemic form *OK* as if the original form was written with Greek characters. In sum, the participants’ familiarity with the specific discourse marker allows them to write it with Greek characters, which, in turn, triggers the phonological assimilation /ok/. As a result, the latter acoustic form of the loan conforms to the Greek pronunciation norms, while it is progressively distancing from the original English pronunciation. This finding suggests that the simultaneous phonological and graphemic assimilation are indicative of the loan’s greater integration into the receiving language.

Message 20 [125]

Οκ, κάτω από το φροντί. Φιλιά μαρία

Ok, [let’s meet] outside school. Kisses maria

Case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 31/01/04 – texter: Matia, time: 00.16

I have argued so far that the conversational routines are encoded only in the Roman alphabet, except for the more established borrowings ‘ok’ and ‘sorry’. In particular, the Greek encoding of these loans has been attributed to reasons of greater integration into the standard vocabulary of the local language. But are there less conventional borrowings from English which are also written with Greek characters? And, what might their function be in the given context, provided that we cannot account for the use of Greek script in terms of standard borrowing processes? Although this

phenomenon is very rare, it is not altogether absent from the data. In fact, evidence for the existence of the opposite to Greeklish phenomenon, i.e. Greek-alphabetized English, which is largely overlooked by popular and academic discourse, is important.

The case of Greek-alphabetized English occurs in the text-messages collected from my case-studies. More specifically, I find such instances in the messages exchanged between Fay and Nana. As mentioned in § 2.3.4, although Fay and Nana are very good friends, they do not have the chance to see each other very often, since they live in different cities (Athens and Patras), because of their studies. As a result, we find bursts of emotion in the messages exchanged while they are away from each other. In particular, the expression ‘miss you’ is found in 28 of their messages. In most cases<sup>14</sup> (22 in total), the Greek form for miss you, i.e. *MOY ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ* (see message 21), is employed towards the closing of the message.

#### Message 21 [52]

OK!ΘΑ ΤΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ!ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΝΩ  
ΑΝΑΠΙΑΝΤΗΤΗ ΠΡΙΝ ΠΑΡΩ!ΣΕ ΛΑΤΡΕΥΩ  
ΚΑΙ ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ ΑΦΑΝΤΑΣΤΑ!ΠΟΛΛΑ  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

OK!TALK TO YOU!I’LL MISSED CALL YOU  
BEFORE DIALLING!I ADORE YOU AND I  
MISS YOU SO MUCH [lit: unimaginably]!  
MANY [little] KISSES!

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 14/09/03 – texter: Fay, time: 12/16

However, Fay coins the expression *ΜΙΘ ΓΙΟΥ* /miθ ju/ in message 22 for the first time in my sample of their text-exchanges (08/10/03). The specific expression, which represents the English ‘miss you’, is phonetically and graphemically assimilated into Greek. However, this graphemic assimilation differs from the similar case of ‘sorry’/ΣΟΡΥ. First of all, *ΜΙΘ ΓΙΟΥ* is basically used by only one participant Fay (n:

<sup>14</sup> See messages 55, 57, and 59 in the appendix for Nana’s use of the expression and messages 58, 63, 80 for Fay’s use of the same expression.



5) and once by her friend, Nana, whereas *ΣΟΡΥ/ ΣΟΡΙ* is employed by more participants from different data sets. Moreover, *ΜΙΘ ΓΙΟΥ* /miθ ju/ is not phonetically and, thus, graphemically equivalent to the original /mis ju/. In fact, we note that the sound /s/ of ‘miss’ has turned into /θ/.

#### Message 22 [54]

ΚΟΛΛΗΤΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΑΣΕ Η	MY [little] BEST FRIEND HOW ARE YOU!
ΦΙΛΕΝΑΔΑ ΣΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΙΝΑΧΟΜΕΝΗ	ASE [-particle] WELL YOUR FRIEND <sup>15</sup> HAS A
ΧΑΛΙΑ!ΕΠΙΣΗΣ ΡΙΧΝΕΙ ΚΑΡΕΚΛΕΣ!ΤΗ	BLOODY COLD!IT’S RAINING CATS AND
ΚΑΝΕΙΘ?ΜΙΘ ΓΙΟΥ :-)	DOGS AS WELL!HOOW ARE YOU?MISS
	YOU :-)

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 08/10/03 – texter: Fay, time: 16.37

In order to explain this sound shift, we need to attend to the local context. We observe that the expression under investigation is locally situated between a smiley :-) and a ‘how-are-you’ expression *ΤΗ ΚΑΝΕΙΘ* (message 22). The expressive, emotional, tone of the message is graphemically enacted by the elongation of the sound /i/ in *ΤΗ* (note the repetition of the letter ‘I’) and the use of an emoticon (smiling face). At the same time, the sound ‘s’ of /kanis/, (‘ΚΑΝΕΙΣ’) is substituted by the sound /θ/ (*ΚΑΝΕΙΘ*). Considering the emotional and affective tone of the extract, this sound shift represents a practice of ‘baby<sup>16</sup> talk’, which is common among young females in Greece. Thus, the substitution of /s/ by /θ/ in ‘miss you’ follows the sound shift in the preceding Greek expression. The alliteration created by the co-occurrence of the two expressions enhances the expressivity of the message. Thus, we have argued that the English expression ‘miss you’ appears appropriated within the context of a Greek default message. This process of appropriation of the original English expression involves its

<sup>15</sup> Here, Fay refers to herself as *Η ΦΙΛΕΝΑΔΑ ΣΟΥ* ‘your friend’.

<sup>16</sup> Babies are supposed to have problems with uttering the sound ‘s’. Instead, the sound they produce for /s/ resembles more the sound /θ/.



graphemic assimilation into the Greek alphabet and its phonetic manipulation for expressive reasons. As for the subsequent history of the form *ΜΙΘ ΓΙΟΥ* in the interaction of the specific participants, I note that it appears six more times in their messages until 23/10/03. When Fay is again back to Patras for the following term, the Greek expression *ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ* appears again in the data (see message 2.1: 247, 13/01/04) to the exclusion of the form *ΜΙΘ ΓΙΟΥ*. In spite of its short history, this form of Greek-alphabetized English indicates that the incorporation of English in Greek text-messages can be a creative process.

The final category of quotations, brought into the specific messages from another language or culture, is placed towards the ‘code-switching’ end of the continuum. This type of ‘**intertextual switching**’ (Androutsopoulos, 2004: 5) indexes the incorporation of other words into the specific messages. We should point out that these references are separated from the rest of the message by graphemic symbols (punctuation marks), such as quotation marks (see message 23), colons (idem), and suspension points. I argue that, in addition to the above graphemic symbols, the use of Roman characters functions as an additional graphemic cue indexing the non-Greek origin of the specific phrases and foregrounding their content. Furthermore, the (con)text in which these phrases originate is meta-linguistically specified within the message itself; note *τραγούδι*, i.e. ‘song’ (see message 23) and *προσευχή*, i.e. prayer (cf. message 12).

#### Message 23 [25]

“You are my girl, my supergirl” λει το  
καταθλιπτικό αυτό τραγούδι που ακούω τώρα που

The depressing song I’m listening to now that I’m  
sober says “You are my girl, my supergirl” and

εχω ξεπερωσει και συνεχιζει: “And supergirls  
don’t cry”. Να το θυμασαι αυτο!  
Questionnaire sample, male 20-yr-old

goes on: “And supergirls don’t cry”. [You should]  
remember this!

### 3.8. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the extent to which the practice of alphabetical encoding in Greek text-messaging conforms to or deviates from writing norms. As argued in previous studies (e.g. Scribner & Cole, 1981; Street, 1993; Baynham, 2004), literacy is not an ‘autonomous variable’ (Street, 1993: 5) independent of the specific purposes for which it is employed in particular contexts of use. In fact, my analysis reveals that writing in text-messaging, along with personal letters, private diaries, email, and e-chat, falls under the ‘partly regulated orthographic regimes’ (cf. Sebba, 2003: 154-158), where norms of ‘school literacies’ co-occur with non-standard practices.

In the light of the above, the analysis of the data suggests that the standard use of writing Greek in the Greek alphabet is the unmarked choice among the users of text-messaging. Text-messages encoded with Greek characters by default have been found to outnumber those written in the Roman alphabet. Such empirical evidence does not support the popular stereotype according to which young users of text-messaging in Greece prefer the use of Roman characters for writing their messages.

However, the digital, non-standard, practice of Roman-alphabetized Greek (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2000b; Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou, 2003) is not altogether absent from my data. Evidence from my case-studies has revealed that specific participants employ Greeklish, i.e. Roman-alphabetized Greek, in their messages.

However, the reasons that might encourage the use of this non-standard practice differ from participant to participant. The data analysis has shown that these reasons span from the technological limitations of the medium per se to the participants' stance towards new technologies, in general. Regarding the position of text-messaging among computer media, the analysis of the data implies that it is not clearly conceived as a computer medium by my participants. The more keen users of text-messaging are not well acquainted with other new media and refuse to employ the popular script in computer-mediated environments, i.e. Greeklish. On the other hand, the participants who appear more technologically adept and prefer Greeklish are the ones who rarely send text-messages.

Considering that the technological affordances make both alphabets available, text-messages can be written with mixed, both Greek and Roman, characters. The analysis of the specific sample has shown that Greek constitutes the main language and alphabet frame in which switches to the Roman alphabet - and, to some extent, to English - occur. More specifically, switches to Roman have been found to indicate the incorporation of intertextual references, quoted in the original language (usually English), within particular messages. The other instances of code-insertional phenomena refer to the encoding of names, standard loans, and other borrowings. However, I have argued that the Greek alphabet continues to be the unmarked choice for the encoding of names and standard loans. On the other hand, switches to Roman have been found to instantiate code-switches to English at the level of individual words and expressions. In particular, these borrowings are limited to a small cluster of conversational routines, such as greetings, terms of address, politeness forms, etc. Such expressions appear in specific positions (openings and closings) of the texts and



serve specific discourse functions, related to the generic organization of text-messaging (see chapter 5).

Nevertheless, the process of incorporating these borrowings into Greek messages is arguably a creative practice for my participants. More specifically, participants creatively appropriate English borrowings in terms of encoding them with Greek characters (Greek-alphabetized English) and phonetically manipulating them for expressive purposes. In line with similar practices documented in Greek youth interaction (cf. Iordanidou & Androutsopoulos, 1997), the use of English words and phrases has been argued to indicate the participants' affiliation with global popular cultures. In other words, the incorporation of foreign language material with Roman characters in Greek text-messaging brings along the symbolic meaning of cultural affiliation to global youth cultures.

In sum, I conclude that the Greek alphabet and language is the unmarked choice in text-messaging. This finding contradicts popular concerns according to which local languages and cultures are endangered by the adoption of global cultural commodities. In terms of alphabetical encoding, text-messaging in Greece does not appear to deviate from the standard practice of writing Greek with Greek characters. Furthermore, the status of mobile phones and text-messaging, in particular, differs from other computer media in my participants' understandings. In other words, we can speculate that the reception of mobile phones in Greece has undergone different processes, compared to computers or other new technologies.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Capitalization and punctuation**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

While verbal aspects of written language, such as syntax or vocabulary, have been the main preoccupation of most discourse studies, paralinguistic and graphic features have been largely overlooked<sup>1</sup>. However, the recent developments in computer-mediated communication have brought to the fore the use of typography as a resource for online social interaction among non-professionals (Danet, 2001).

At the same time, popular representations have been concerned with (typo)graphic issues in Greek text-messages. As mentioned in § 1.2.3, the focus of newspaper articles turns to these visually prevalent features which appear not to follow the rules of conventional writing. More specifically, they mention lower-case letters and punctuation marks the use of which is so uncommon that ‘strikes as an obsolete habit’<sup>2</sup> in text-messaging (Kathimerini, 29/06/2003; Eleftherotipia, 31/01/2001).

This chapter will focus on the use of typographic resources in text-messaging. In particular, I will explore typographic choices regarding the use of upper- or lower-case letters, punctuation marks, and other printing symbols. In the light of the above,

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<sup>1</sup> There are few sociolinguistic studies that have been concerned with such issues, such as Kataoka (2003a, 2003b), Androutsopoulos (2000b), Davies (1987).

<sup>2</sup> [...] τα σημεία στίξης, τα πεζά γράμματα και η παραδοσιακή ορθογραφία φαντάζουν πια απαρχαιωμένες συνήθειες (Kathimerini, 29/06/2003)

the questions that this chapter sets out to address are as follows: a) whether the use of typography in text-messaging deviates from the conventions of standard writing in Modern Greek, b) what practices regarding typography emerge in text-messaging and what purposes they serve for, and c) whether these are similar to the emergent practices in digital writing, as they are discussed in the relevant CMC literature (see § 1.2.3).

## **4.2. Choices between upper- and lower- case letters**

### **4.2.1. Capitalization: the default choice**

The set of default choices in a mobile phone enables the user to pre-select writing in either upper- or lower-case letters exclusively or switching between the two. Assuming that switching from upper- to lower-case or vice versa requires extra keystrokes and thus more time (cf. the ‘save a keystroke’ principle, Crystal, 2001: 87), a plausible hypothesis would be that users of text-messaging prefer setting their texts in either all upper- or all lower-case. Indeed, as shown in figure 4.1, the vast majority of the total sample of messages<sup>3</sup> (83.2%, n: 372) are set in upper-case letters exclusively<sup>4</sup>. At the same time, the use of both upper- and lower-case letters is evidenced only in 75 text-messages (16.8% of the total sample).

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<sup>3</sup> We should bear in mind that the text-messages were collected in the form they appeared in the inbox of the recipients’ phones.

<sup>4</sup> Vrouzi & Panzari (2002), in their unpublished (undergraduate) thesis, also have similar findings regarding the use of capitalization in Greek text-messaging.



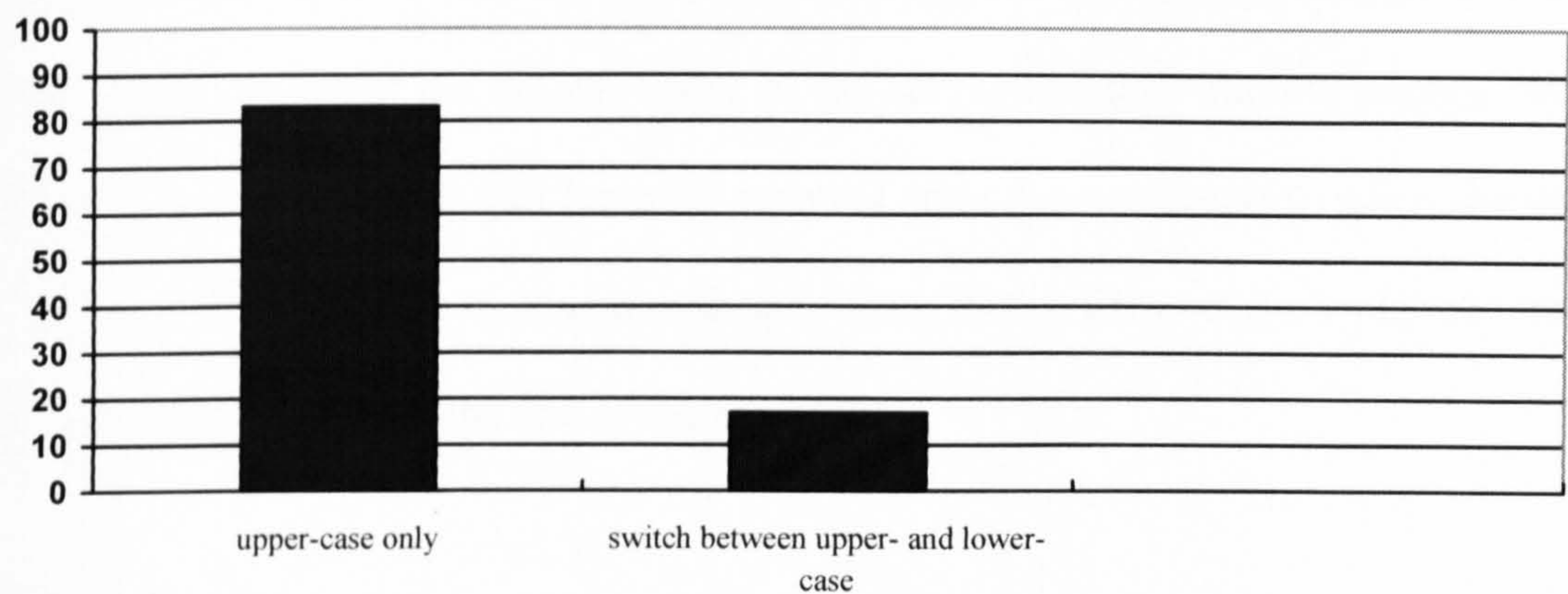


Figure 4.1. The choice of upper- and lower-case characters in the data

On the basis of the messages gathered from the case-studies<sup>5</sup>, we find that most participants consistently use capital letters only (see figure 4.2). In other words, all participants set upper-case as the default frame even in text-messages where both options are employed. However, Melina - a rather not frequent user of this medium - stands out as the only person who sends her messages in both lower- and upper-case characters. Therefore, we can argue that the choice of capital or lower-case letters also depends on the personal style preference of each participant.

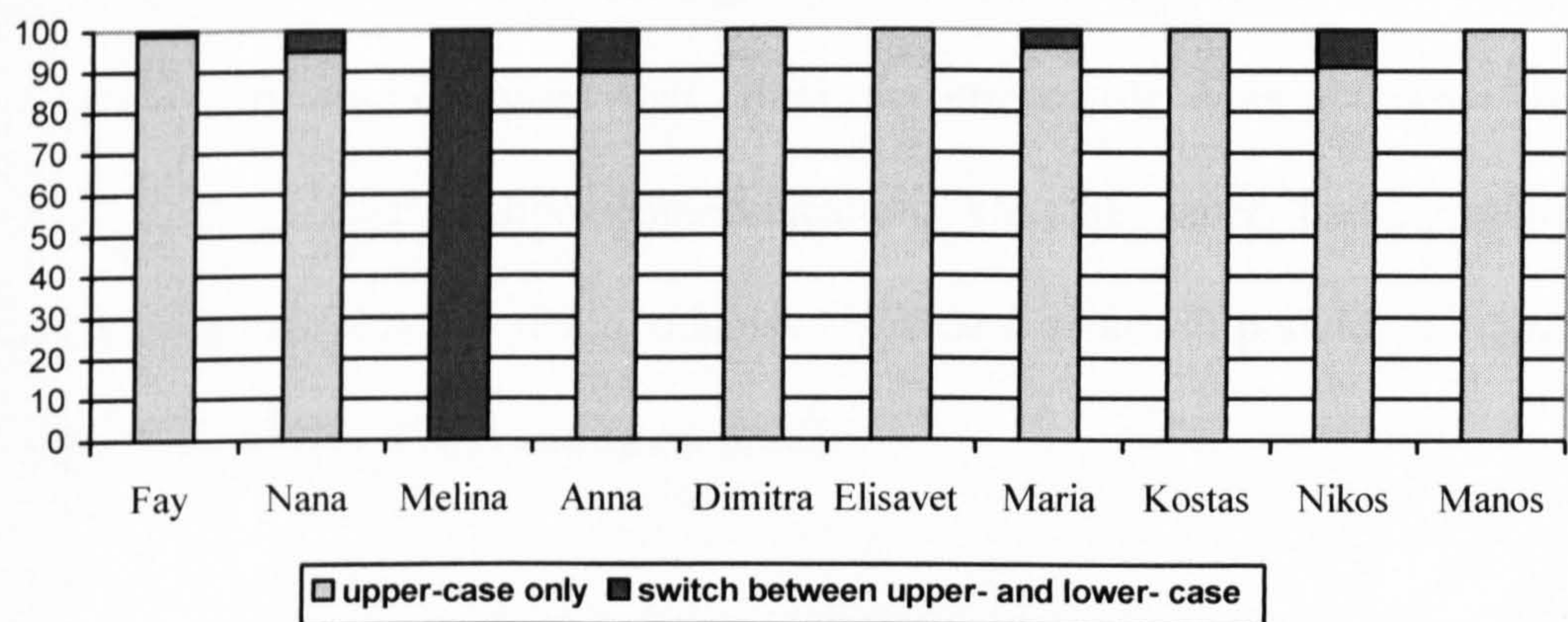


Figure 4.2. Ratios of upper-/lower-case characters (case-studies sample)

<sup>5</sup> The nature of the questionnaire sample, involving individual, isolated, text-messages, does not help us to determine whether the choice of upper-case letters is a matter of personal style preference or a marked use for expressive purposes (cf. Thurlow, 2003: 7).



This personal style is also encoded in technological terms, since the participants themselves pre-select the default script in the settings of their mobile phones. As a result, Maria is forced to quit her own personal style (i.e. upper-case), when she uses another person's mobile to send a message to her friend, Elisavet (note also the need for self-identification at the end of the message).

Message 1 [125]

Οκ κάτω από το φροντί.Φιλιά μαρία

Ok, [let's meet] outside school. Kisses maria

Case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 31/01/04 – texter: Maria, time: 00.16

Nevertheless, the analysis of the data shows that capitalization is the unmarked choice in the encoding of Greek text-messages. In contrast, previous research on textual computer-mediated communication argues that setting online texts in all lower case is a common practice on the Internet (Danet, 2001: 2; Crystal, 2001: 87). Instead, the use of all capital letters in computer-mediated environments represents a marked choice for expressive purposes. For instance, Danet suggests that capitalization in cyberspace is 'generally discouraged', since 'such messages are interpreted as shouting' (2001: 18). Thus, with regard to the choice of script in terms of upper- or lower-case, it can be argued that Greek text-messaging does not seem to follow practices of textual online communication. On the other hand, capitalization represents a common practice in other non-standard genres of popular culture, such as comics (cf. Abbott, 1986) and street graffiti.

However, all upper-case script is not a practice of standard Modern Greek. Although capitalization was the norm in ancient Greek and Roman times, it has been abandoned since the ninth century AD. Standard practices of writing involve the use of both capital and lower case letters according to a set of orthographic rules. For instance,

initial capital letters after punctuation marks, such as a final period, a question mark, etc. are used in order to mark sentence divisions. Thus, in terms of upper-/lower-case script choices, text-messaging has been found to deviate from the norms of standard Modern Greek.

#### 4.2.2. Switching to lower-case in upper-case default text-messages

Having argued that capitalization represents the default choice in Greek text-messaging, the focus turns to the marked cases of messages involving the use of both upper- and lower-case letters. As mentioned before, there are 75 such cases in the whole sample (447 text-messages). The upper-case default practice sets up an environment of reduced ‘typographic contrastivity’ (Crystal, 2001: 87), at least in the sense standard grammars prescribe the use of the specific graphic features. In other words, orthographic conventions regarding the capitalization of initials in proper names or words at the beginning of a sentence after punctuation marks (like period, exclamation mark, etc) appear to be neutralized in such environments.

More specifically, in upper-case default text-messages we observe switches to lower-case at the level of individual words (16 instances<sup>6</sup>), which are also set in the Roman alphabet and constitute borrowings from English (message 2). As mentioned in § 3.7.2, these borrowings can be terms of address, e.g. *chief*, *man* [130], names, e.g. *cm4* [1], *alex* [67], URL addresses, e.g. *www.stathmos.gr* [89], and phatic elements, e.g. *ok*, *thanks*, etc.

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<sup>6</sup> See messages 1, 36, 67, 70, 89, 99, 130 in appendix IV.



Message 2 [57]

Hello,hello!!! TI MOY KANEI H KOΛΛHTH  
MOY; ΠΩΣ EINAI TO ΣYNAXI;EMENA  
ΠONAEI H KOIΛITΣA MOY! APXISAME  
MAΘHMATA AΣE!MOY ΛEIPETΣ! ΦIΛAKIA  
ΠOΛΛA KAI ONEIPA ΓΛYKA...

Hello, hello!!! HOW IS MY MATE? HOW'S  
THE COLD?AS FOR ME MY BELLY  
HURTS!CLASSES STARTED DAMN! MISS  
YOU!MANY KISSES AND SWEET  
DREAMS...

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 14/10/03 – texter: Nana, time: 22.31

Based on the sample from case-studies, we observe that the graphemic switch to lower-case correlates with shift to Roman in text-messages encoded with Greek characters as default<sup>7</sup>. Thus, we can argue that foreign language material appears to be marked graphemically both in terms of alphabet choice and letter shape (i.e. upper- or lower-case). However, we cannot be certain whether the participants deliberately choose to switch to lower-case. It may be the case that the particular choice is technologically-determined - i.e. the technological system may be pre-set to switch into lower-case, once encoding in Roman is activated.

On the other hand, text-messages written exclusively in the Roman alphabet allow us to assume with greater certainty that a potential switch to lower-case is a deliberate choice. In particular, lower-case does not always mark foreign language material in Anna's text-messages, which are set in default Roman and upper-case letters. In fact, borrowings, e.g. *BUS*, are set in upper Roman characters as the rest of message 3.

Message 3 [88]

GOMENAKI STO BUS.MU'DWSE  
ISITHRIO+ME GLYKOKOITAEI.NA PAW NA  
TU KSANAMILHSW?THA SE THL JA TH  
VASW.NA THS THYMHSEIS TI ELEGE OXI

FIT GUY ON THE BUS.HE GAVE ME A  
TICKET+HE'S GIVING ME THE  
LOOK.SHALL I GO BACK TO TALK TO  
HIM?I'LL CALL YOU ABOUT VASO.REMIND

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<sup>7</sup> This observation applies to the personal style of Fay, Nana, and Nikos. As shown in diagram 2, Dimitra, Elisavet, Kostas and Manos do not use lower-case letters at all.

MONO JA XOSE ALA+GENIKA JA XRONO. HER WHAT SHE USED TO SAY NOT ONLY  
ABOUT XOSE BUT+GENERALLY ABOUT  
TIME.

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 01/09/03 – texter: Anna, time: 21.06

However, a switch to lower-case occurs in the encoding of a URL address incorporated in message 4. This case<sup>8</sup> illustrates the embeddedness of an intertextual reference, *www.stathmos.gr*, originating in Internet culture, into the new technological environment of text-messaging. The process of embedding the particular reference into the new context arguably generates the specific graphemic switch. In other words, the popular practice of lower-case script in textual CMC (see above) is transposed, along with the reference's verbal content, into the graphemic environment of text-messaging. As a result, the intertextual reference appears as graphemically marked and contrasts with the unmarked practice of upper-case in Greek text-messaging.

Message 4 [89]

BLAKA H VASW MAS KERDISE 8	DUDE OUR VASO WON 8
PROSKLHSEIS!SKEFTESAI O,TI	INVITATIONS!YOU THINKING WHAT I'M
SKEFTOMAI?LEPTOMEREIES DEN	THINKING? I DON'T KNOW THE
KSERW.THA DW STO <i>www.stathmos.gr</i> AN	DETAILS.I;LL CHECK <i>www.stathmos.gr</i> IF
BOREIS DES K ESY!	YOU CAN CHECK TOO.

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 24/09/03 – texter: Anna, time: 14.24

Another case of switching from upper- to lower-case is found in the term of address *BUGAtsula* that Anna employs in one of her messages towards Dimitra (see message 5). The specific term appears only once in the data as a form of endearment, meaning literally 'little sweet pie'. As for its word-formation, the term consists of the word

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<sup>8</sup> A similar case is found in message 36 (see appendix IV) from the questionnaire sample, where we note the same practice of switching to lower-case in the encoding of the URL.



/buyatsa/ (which is literally a pie with cream) and the diminutive suffix *-/ula/*. However, the use of different scripts graphemically divides the term into the following parts, namely *BUGA* and *tsula*. At the same time, the marked choice of lower-case (within a context of all upper-case letters) draws the reader's attention to the term's second part, which is a homophone and graphemically identical to the word *tsula*, meaning literally a 'slut'. Therefore, the graphemic switch allows for two different readings or interpretations of the same term of address. In other words, Anna calls her friend, Dimitra, at the same time a 'little sweet pie' and a 'slut'. The latter interpretation becomes even more plausible considering Anna's practice to use insulting or degrading terms of address towards Dimitra.<sup>9</sup> As previous research has shown (cf. Holmes, 1995), insulting address terms with degrading content are popular among members of close social networks and reinforce social bonding. Anna's preference for such terms of address towards another specific member of the group, i.e. Dimitra, indicates a higher level intimacy between the two, compared to the rest of the members<sup>10</sup>.

#### Message 5 [99]

ANTE VRE BUGA <b>tsula</b> MOU,POLY	HEY MY LITTLE tart, I'M SO
XAIROMAI!RE EXW 8EOTRELH	GRAD!Y'KNOW I GOT A MAD AMOUNT OF
DOULEIA.DEN KSERW ENTELWS SIGURA	WORK. I DON'T KNOW FOR SURE ABOUT
GIA AYRIO.PARE ME OTAN GYRISEIS APO	TOMORROW. CALL ME WHEN YOU COME
TA ISPANIKA.	BACK FROM SPANISH.

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 21/01/04 – texter: Anna, time: 19.03

<sup>9</sup> Other instances found in the data concern *BLAKA*, *XAZO*, *XAZH*, *XAZOYLA*, meaning 'stupid' or 'silly'.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. terms of address between Fay and Nana (other members of the same group), where ritual insults are not found at all. On the other hand, intimacy here is conveyed through strongly affective terms which focus on positive qualities, e.g. *ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ* ('little beauty') (see messages 59, 61, 62, 65, 76, and 78 in appendix IV), *ΜΙΚΡΗ ΠΡΙΓΚΙΠΙΣΑ* ('little princess'), etc.



### 4.2.3. Lower-case script

As mentioned before, out of the 75 text-messages involving a switch between the two scripts only 16 are set in upper-case default. On the other hand, the rest 59 text-messages are written mainly with lower-case characters. However, we should note that the particular messages are not set strictly in lower-case, as argued to be a common practice in CMC. In fact, 36 text-messages<sup>11</sup> follow the conventional orthographic rules according to which initials of proper names or words after punctuation marks (such as period, exclamation mark, etc.) are capitalised (see message 6).

#### Message 6 [15]

<p>Έλα ρε μαλάκα τι γίνεσαι; Γύρισες από το φροντ; Πότε θα βγούμε και τι ώρα; Στείλε μου για να βγούμε. Μην ξεχάσεις να φέρεις το κασετόφωνό μου. Ok;</p> <p>Questionnaire sample, male, 16-yr-old</p>	<p><i>ELA RE[-particle]</i> Hey mate, what's up? You back from school? When we going out and when? Text me about going out. Don't forget to bring my tape-recorder. OK?</p>
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The conventionality of script in these messages may be related to the data set to which they belong. Considering that all the above text-messages have been collected from the questionnaire survey, it is plausible to assume that the method of data collection, especially the setting of school, urges the participants to choose messages written in a more standard-like script. However, it should be noted that these messages do not entirely conform to the grammatical rules of orthography. In twenty out of the total thirty six text-messages, there are no accents placed on the lower-case letters. This observation suggests that some orthographic rules are more likely to be applied than

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<sup>11</sup> See messages 2, 8, 10, 14, 15, 23, 25, 26, 29, 31, and 34 in appendix IV.

others. For instance, participants are more prone to dispense with accents rather than capitalization in their text-messages (see message 7). These orthographic choices are to a large extent constrained by the technological limitations of the medium per se. For instance, it requires more keystrokes to key in a vowel with an accent. On the other hand, the initial letter capitalization is offered as a default choice by the technological system of text-messaging.

Message 7 [31]

Γεια σου Χρηστο!Εκλεισε απο μπαταρια!Τι  
κανεις;Βγηκατε;Εγω καλα!Δεν βγηκα  
τελικά!Αντε καληνύχτα!  
Questionnaire sample, male, 21-yr-old

Hi *Christo*!I run out of battery!How are you?Did  
you go out?I['m] fine! I didn't go out after all!  
*Ade*[-particle] good night!

More specifically, with regard to capitalization, we find text-messages (n: 15 in total) which are set in lower-case but violate one or both of the orthographic rules for capital letters. Message (8) is one such case; the initials of words following a punctuation mark, such as period, and being at the beginning of a sentence (e.g. *egw*, *tha*, *se*) or proper names of places (e.g. *syntagma*, *kolwnaki*) are not capitalised (see message 8).

Message 8 [32]

Ok.egw molis eftasa syntagma.tha paw kolwnaki  
na riksw mia matia k meta gia fagito.se filw  
Questionnaire sample, female, 21-yr-old

Ok. i just got to *syntagma*.i'm going *kolonaki* to  
see what's going on and then for food.kiss you

As shown in figure 4.2, Melina, who rarely uses text-messaging, stands out as the only person from the participants in the case-studies, employing consistently lower-case characters. With regard to the above orthographic rules, she does capitalise the first letter of sentence-initial words but she uses lower-case for proper names, e.g.



*thanos* (see message 9). However, capitalization also occurs as a non-standard practice within the context of lower-case default messages. More specifically, the graphemic switch to upper-case marks out the specific word, e.g. *POLLA* ('many'), from the rest of the text, set in lower-case. The specific use of capitalization has been argued to emerge as a common practice in CMC, where lower-case script is the default (Danet, 2001: 17-18).

Message 9 [84]

Ti ginetai vre orgio? Pu xenyxtas? Giati den exw  
oute ena neo otan xerw oti esy exeis...POLLA?  
Autos o xemialistis o thanos ftaiei! Ax!

What's up you *orgio*[literally 'orgy']? Where are  
you? How come I got no news when I know you  
got... SO MUCH? It's *thanos*' fault for blowing  
your mind!Ah!

Case-study I, participants: Melina and Nana, day: 29/07/03 – texter: Melina, time: 00.34

As argued in CMC literature, the capitalized word, e.g. *POLLA* (see message 9), aims for an expressive effect which will enable the participants to experience the written words as if they were spoken. But how do users of text-messaging achieve similar effects in the context of upper-case default texts? We have already illustrated the opposite switch to lower-case from upper default in message 5 (§ 4.2.2) which allowed for two different readings of the same term of address. In addition, participants have been found to resort to forms of 'eccentric spelling' (Danet, 2001: 17) in order to attach a spoken-like flavour to their messages. Eccentric spelling is not an exclusive feature of text-messaging. In fact, it has been reported as a common practice in computer-mediated communication (*idem*) and refers to the repetition of individual letters within a word. For instance, Fay types four times the letter 'A' in her address to her friend, *NANAAAA* (see message 10). The repetition of the letter



graphemically represents the elongation of the sound /α/ which would be heard if Fay was actually uttering these words.

Message 10 [49]

NANAAAA!ΞΥΠΝΗΣΕΣ?ΝΑ ΠΑΡΩ  
ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΟ?

NANAAAA!ARE YOU AWAKE?CAN I CALL  
[you]?

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 03/09/03 – texter: Fay, time: 19.37

#### 4.2.4. Interim summary

So far, I have argued that capitalization is the unmarked choice in text-messaging. The use of upper-case letters as default distances text-messaging from practices in computer-mediated environments, where all lower-case script is the norm. The above analysis of graphemic choices in terms of letter-shape has proved that the technological affordances of the system play an important role in the choice of upper- or lower-case script. More specifically, non-standard practices, like the use of capitals as default and the laxity in the application of orthographic norms such as accents in lower-case letters and capitalization of name-initials, appear under the technological pressures of the ‘saving a keystroke’ principle. Thus, although script choices in text-messaging differ from practices in CMC, they are affected by similar technological constraints.

On the other hand, the technological pressure of ‘saving-a-keystroke’ can be overridden when other interactional needs apply. In other words, users of text-messaging do not hesitate to employ choices which are not facilitated by the medium. For example, although switching from upper- to lower-case script (or vice versa) and

keying in repeatedly the same characters are more ‘laborious’ choices – in the sense that they require extra keystrokes and, thus, more time, they are not altogether absent in my data. Rather, my participants have been found to employ such strategies ‘to enhance readers’ and writers’ ability to experience the words as if they were spoken’ (Danet, 2001: 17). Similar to computer-mediated interaction, the paucity of paralinguistic cues in text-messaging results in the participants’ appropriation of typography as a resource for conveying expressivity.

### **4.3. Punctuation marks and other printing symbols**

Until now, we have explored the graphemic manipulation of alphabetical characters, either in terms of alphabet (Greek or Roman) or in terms of shape (upper- or lower-case). This section will focus on the use of non-alphabetical typographic characters as resources for writing in Greek text-messaging, namely punctuation marks and other printing symbols.

#### **4.3.1. The punctuation system (in Modern Greek)**

From a traditional, school-based, point of view, punctuation has long been considered as a system of rules concerning the formalities of written language. According to Baron (2000: 170; 2001: 22-25), punctuation systems historically appear to have been influenced by two major traditions: a) the ‘rhetorical’ tradition, which views punctuation as a means for facilitating the reader ‘in re-creating an oral rendition of

the text', and b) the 'grammatical', 'syntactic', or 'logical' tradition, which sees punctuation as a means for marking grammatical or logical relationships between syntactic components of a text. In turn, these two traditions presuppose different conceptions regarding the relationship between speech and writing. More specifically, in the rhetorical tradition the two modes of linguistic representation appear rather 'interdependent' in the sense that writing reflects the oral character of the text. On the other hand, the grammatical tradition conceives written texts as 'independent' from speech and formulating different webs of logical relationships and meaning. As a result, the study of punctuation can shed light on the exploration of the relationships between speech and writing as modes of linguistic representations (Baron, 2001: 16).

However, the system of punctuation, i.e. the form and function of punctuation marks, along with the rules governing their use, is by no means universal. Rather, it varies across languages and appears to be culturally shaped (cf. Baron, 2001: 22, Kress, 2003: 123). Therefore, this section will aim to give a brief overview of the Greek punctuation system.

This brief description will be based on three contemporary grammars of Modern Greek. First and foremost, we have used the school grammar of M. Triantafyllidis which has been the basic reference book in primary and secondary education since 1976. In addition, we have taken into consideration the relevant section on punctuation marks in the grammar of Modern Greek by Ch. Tsolakis (1988). Besides the above two, rather prescriptive, grammar books, Mackridge's (1985) *Descriptive Analysis of Standard Modern Greek* has also served as a reference book in the following account of the Greek punctuation system.



According to the above grammars, the basic punctuation marks in Greek are: period [·], semicolon [·], comma [,], question mark [;], exclamation mark [!], colon [:], parentheses [( )], suspension points [...], dash [–], double dash [– –], and quotation marks [« »]. Therefore, we observe that there are not many differences between Greek and English punctuation marks regarding their form. The symbols used in Greek correspond to the equivalent English punctuation marks, with the exception of [·], [;], and [« »] which stand for a semicolon, a question mark, and quotation marks respectively.

Regarding the functions of each of the above punctuation marks, the following table summarises the rules regulating punctuation use in standard Modern Greek. More specifically, according to the particular grammar books, we use a

<u>Period</u> (Τελεία) [·]	to mark the end of a sentence with complete meaning and a pause in speech (Tsolakis, 1988: 36; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 30)
<u>Semicolon</u> (Άνω Τελεία) [·]	to indicate a pause in speech, shorter than a period and longer than a comma (Tsolakis, 1988: 36; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 31) to separate phrases the latter of which explains or contrasts with the former (Tsolakis, 1988: 36)
<u>Comma</u> (Κόμμα) [,]	to indicate a short pause in speech (Tsolakis, 1988: 37; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 31) to separate words or phrases which are not otherwise connected, usually of the same grammatical or syntactic category, or words in the vocative case (Tsolakis, 1988: 37; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 31) to separate main from subordinate clauses (Triantafyllidis, 1976: 31)
<u>Question mark</u> (Ερωτηματικό) [;]	to indicate an interrogative sentence, a question (Tsolakis, 1988: 37; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 31)
<u>Exclamation mark</u>	to indicate a phrase expressing emotions, e.g. admiration, surprise, joy, pain, fear

(Θαυμαστικό) [!]	etc., (Tsolakis, 1988: 38; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 31) or an order (Triantafyllidis, 1976: 31)
<u>Colon</u> (Διπλή Τελεία) [:]	to introduce a quote in direct speech or an enumeration (Tsolakis, 1988: 38; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 32)
	to mark a phrase as an illustration or a consequence (Tsolakis, 1988: 38; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 32)
<u>Parentheses</u> (Παρένθεση) [( )]	to enclose explanatory or complementary words or phrases (Tsolakis, 1988: 39; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 32)
	to enclose a reference (Tsolakis, 1988: 39)
<u>Suspension points</u> (Αποσιωπητικά) [...]	to introduce and draw attention on a word or phrase (Mackridge, 1985: 42)
	to indicate a deliberate omission of words due to intense emotions (Tsolakis, 1988: 39; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 32)
<u>Double dash</u> (Διπλή Παύλα) [--]:	to enclose explanatory or complementary words or phrases (Tsolakis, 1988: 39; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 33)
<u>Quotation marks</u> (Εισαγωγικά) [« »]	to enclose a quote in direct speech (Mackridge, 1985: 42; Tsolakis, 1988: 40; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 33)
	to indicate metaphorical use of words (Mackridge, 1985: 42),
	to quote titles, names, etc. (Tsolakis, 1988: 40)

Table 4.1. Types and functions of punctuation marks in Modern Greek grammars

On the basis of table 4.1, we observe that the rules coded in Modern Greek grammars appear to orient both to the rhetorical and grammatical/syntactic use of punctuation. In other words, on the one hand, the choice of punctuation marks depends on and assists the oral delivery of the written word (e.g. pauses in speech) and on the other, it indicates logical / syntactic relations between fragments of a text (e.g. hierarchical relations between main and subordinate clauses). However, despite the co-occurrence of both traditions in the formulation of grammatical rules, the position of the relevant grammars, as manifest in the respective introductions, privileges the rhetorical use of punctuation. For instance, in his preface on punctuation marks, Tsolakis (1988: 35) points out that punctuation marks indicate the position and the duration of pauses in



speech and, thus, facilitate the reading and understanding of a text<sup>12</sup>. In the same vein, Triantafyllidis (1976: 30) mentions the role of punctuation in the written representation of speech. In particular, he claims that the use of punctuation indicates not only where and for how long pauses occur in speech but also the intonation or the different nuances of voice<sup>13</sup>. At the same time, in his *Descriptive Analysis of Standard Modern Greek*, Mackridge (1985) argues that the appearance of punctuation marks in written texts tends to correlate with pauses in speech and not with syntactic patterning. More specifically, he notes that:

‘In practice, punctuation tends to occur where one might pause in speech and reading aloud. Thus a comma is often placed between a subject and the immediately following verb, particularly if the subject consists of a lengthy phrase. For the same reason a comma may be placed even between a verb and its object; while the presence or absence of commas before and/or after a relative clause does not always correspond to a distinction between non-defining and defining clauses (which are not usually distinguished in Greek speech by a pause or absence of pause)’ (Mackridge, 1985: 41).

Thus, we may conclude that the reference books which describe (or prescribe) the standard Modern Greek punctuation system are oriented more towards the ‘rhetorical’ rather than the ‘grammatical’ tradition of punctuation (in Baron’s terms).

#### 4.3.2. Punctuation marks in the data

Having identified the basic punctuation marks coded in the Modern Greek grammars, we find that all, but two (i.e. semicolon and double dash), appear in the data. In

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<sup>12</sup> ‘Είναι φανερό ότι [...] σε βοηθούν να καταλάβεις το κείμενο μερικά σημάδια που βρίσκονται ανάμεσα στις λέξεις· αυτά σου λένε που πρέπει να σταματήσεις και πόσο κάθε φορά. Τα σημάδια αυτά τα ονομάζουμε σημεία της στίξης.’ (Tsolakis, 1988: 35)

<sup>13</sup> ‘Είναι βέβαια αδύνατο με το γράψιμο να παραστήσουμε αυτό που δείχνει η φωνή μας. Μεταχειριζόμαστε όμως μερικά σημαδάκια, που μας δείχνουν πού πρέπει να σταματήσουμε και πόσο κάθε φορά, και πώς να χρωματίσουμε τη φωνή μας. Αν έλειπαν αυτά, θα ήταν δύσκολο να καταλάβουμε το νόημα διαβάζοντας. Τα σημαδάκια αυτά τα ονομάζουμε σημεία της στίξης.’ (Triantafyllidis, 1976: 30)



particular, figure 4.3 shows the number of instances of each punctuation mark in the text-messages collected. It should be noted that although comma is argued to be the most frequent mark according to reference grammars (Tsoulakis, 1988: 37; Triantafyllidis, 1976: 31), the use of exclamation marks appears to outnumber any other mark in text-messaging. In fact, we have counted 879 instances of exclamation marks, which amount to nearly half (46.61%) of the total instances (n: 1886) of punctuation marks in the data.

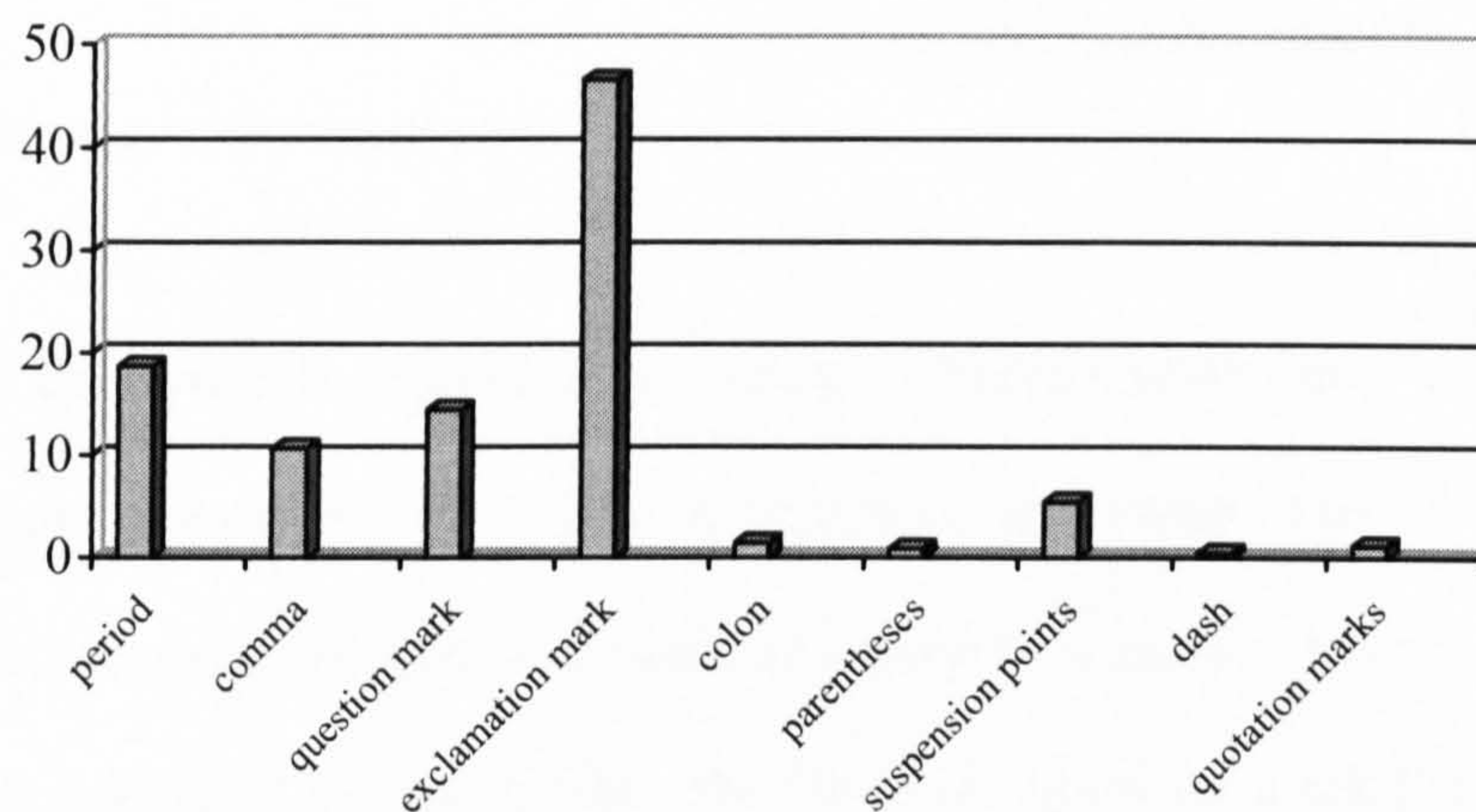


Figure 4.3. Distribution of punctuation marks in the data

Otherwise, the participants occasionally use periods (n: 352, 18.66%), question marks (n: 273, 14.48%), commas (n: 201, 10.66%) and suspension points (n: 103, 5.46%). Beyond that, we find very few instances of colons (n: 28, 1.48%), quotation marks (n: 23, 1.22%), parentheses (n: 17, 0.9%), and dashes (n: 10, 0.53%). These findings suggest that my participants prefer the use of punctuation marks that comment on or expressively enhance the written word, such as exclamation marks, parentheses, quotation marks, suspension points, etc. On the other hand, the traditionally syntactic marks, like periods and commas, are less favoured or are not used at all (e.g. semi-colons) in the text-messages. As illustrated in message 11, periods are not employed



to indicate the end of a sentence. Instead we note the use of exclamation and question marks at the end of a syntactic sentence or the absence of any punctuation mark where, for example, the sentence *ΕΔΩΣΑ 2 ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ* ‘I sat two papers’ is completed.

Message 11 [24]

ΕΛΑ ΚΟΠΕΛΑ ΜΟΥ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ ΜΠΡΙ!ΠΩΣ ΠΕΡΝΑΣ;ΤΑ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ,ΤΑ ΙΣΠΑΝΙΚΑ,Ο ΧΟΡΟΣ..;ΕΓΩ ΜΙΑ ΧΑΡΑ!ΕΔΩΣΑ 2 ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΣΤΟ 1 ΚΟΠΗΚΑ+ ΤΟ ΑΛΛΟ ΘΑ ΤΟ ΔΩ ΑΥΡΙΟ!ΤΩΡΑ ΚΑΘΟΜΑΙ+ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ Ν ΑΡΧΙΣΟΥΜΕ :) ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ	HEY MY GIRL!HOW ARE YOU <i>bri</i> <sup>14</sup> [-particle]! HOW IS IT GOING?[How about] THE CLASSES,THE SPANISH,THE DANCE..?I’M FINE!! SAT TWO PAPERS I FLUNKED THE ONE+ I LL SEE ABOUT THE OTHER TOMORROW!NOW I M SITTING+ WAITING TO START :) [little] KISSES
---	---

Questionnaire sample, female, 19-yr-old

Regarding the symbols representing each punctuation mark, they roughly coincide with the ones presented above by the reference grammars. The few discrepancies concern the symbols for question mark and quotation marks. More specifically, the participants appear to use more often the ‘English’ question mark [?] (n: 170) rather than its Greek equivalent [;] (n: 103). At the same time, we find that the English quotation marks or inverted commas [“ ” or ‘ ’] are used as frequently as the Greek ones [« »] (13 compared to 10 instances, accordingly). The preference for the English or the Greek form of a given mark is related to the technological specificities of the handset. More specifically, it depends on the position of the symbol in the sequence of punctuation marks appearing under the relevant key. For instance, the English forms for question marks and quotation marks precede the Greek equivalent symbols. Therefore, the technological constraints arguably play an important role in punctuation practices in text-messaging.

<sup>14</sup> I assume that *ΜΠΡΙ* ‘*bri*’ is a rather playful and slang form of the spoken particle *βρε* ‘*vre*’.

However, the analysis of the data suggests that the participants' preference for certain punctuation marks is gendered-related. As shown in figure 4.4, exclamation marks appear more frequently than any other sign in the messages of female participants<sup>15</sup>. On the other hand, periods and question marks are more popular among the male participants' messages<sup>16</sup>. According to the standard grammars mentioned above and the definitions they provide for each punctuation mark, it is obvious that certain marks, such as the period and the comma, are presented to have more grammatical or syntactic functions, whereas others, like exclamation marks or suspension points, to be more expressive in character. Assuming such a distinction<sup>17</sup>, we may argue that female participants orient more towards expressive punctuation marks, compared to male participants who prefer syntactic or grammatical pointing. This argument corroborates with findings from previous studies on gender-preferential interactional styles. Tannen (1990) argues that the conversational styles of men and women differ in their use of language. In particular, the heightened expressivity in women's talk is due to their preoccupation with the interpersonal aspects of communication, whereas men are more focused to the ideational, 'report', function of language.

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<sup>15</sup> As for the actual number of total instances counted, there are 277 exclamation marks used by Fay, 123 by Nana, 9 by Melina, 35 by Anna, 37 by Dimitra, 47 by Elisavet and 23 by Maria.

<sup>16</sup> The ratio of exclamation marks to periods is 2/10 in Kostas' messages and 0.8/10 in Nikos' messages.

<sup>17</sup> A similar distinction is made by Babiniotis (1998: 566-567) between 'syntactic' (*συντακτικά*) and 'qualificatory' (*σχολιαστικά*) punctuation marks.



	period	comma	exclamation mark	Greek question mark	English question mark	suspension points
Fay	0	11.1	69.9	0	18.2	0
Nana	0	0	62.8	11.2	0	18.4
Melina	0	0	60	0	26.7	13.3
Anna	30.6	0	35.7	0	24.5	0
Dimitra	10.3	0	47.4	0	26.9	0
Elisavet	6.3	0	74.6	0	4.7	0
Maria	23.2	12.5	41.1	0	0	0
Kostas	58.8	0	11.8	0	26.5	0
Nikos	76.5	17.6	5.9	0	0	0
Manos	25	0	37.5	0	50	0

Table 4.2. The most frequent punctuation marks in % (case-studies sample)

Beyond gender preferences, each participant has her/his own punctuation style, as shown in table 4.2 above. To illustrate this, I will focus on the five female friends of my first case-study. As already mentioned, the exclamation mark is the most frequent sign in the use of punctuation among all female participants. Nevertheless, its relative use compared to the other punctuation marks is not the same for all participants. Fay, for instance, does not mark any periods in her messages. Instead, she uses, along with exclamation marks, commas and the English form for question marks. On the other hand, her friend, Nana, prefers the Greek form for question mark and suspension points. It should be noted that the difference in the encoding of question marks between Fay and Nana is due to the different technological specificities of their mobile handsets. Moreover, periods are missing from Melina’s messages where we find primarily exclamation marks, suspension points and English question marks. The presence of the latter in Melina’s and Anna’s messages is related not only to technological constraints but also to the ‘Greeklish’ script in which their messages are encoded. Furthermore, Anna’s punctuation style differs from the other participants in that her use of exclamation marks does not outnumber all the rest. In fact, the distribution of the most frequent marks, found in her messages, is rather balanced. That is, 30.6% of ‘her’ punctuation marks are periods, 35.7% exclamation marks, and

24.5% are question marks. Last, but not least, Dimitra has been found to prefer punctuation marks similar to the ones employed by Anna. These findings suggest that the practices of marking punctuation are not homogeneous within this small group of female friends. Thus, although punctuation in text-messaging does not strictly follow the grammatical rules of standard Modern Greek, its patterns of use are rather fluid and diverse.

However, the boundaries between expressive and syntactic punctuation marks are not as clear-cut as suggested by grammar books and dictionaries of Modern Greek. Following an approach to language use as employed by participants rather than prescribed by grammarians, the function of a given mark should not be assumed a priori but should be inferred from its particular context of use. To take for example Anna's use of punctuation, I have already noted that she equally employs periods, exclamation marks and question marks. In fact, her use of punctuation marks is close to the standard, as prescribed in the above grammars. In message 12, which is divided into typographic units, a comma is placed after the term of address indicating a small pause (line 1). Periods in lines 3, 4, and 5 indicate a longer pause and mark the end of a syntactic sentence, i.e. a main clause in lines 3 and 4 and a main with its subordinate clause in line 5. Moreover, the exclamation mark in line 2 co-occurs with an emotive expression, such as *POLY XAIROMAI* ('I'm so glad'). Although the latter also indicates the closure of a syntactic sentence, its expressive function is prevalent in this context. In fact, the exclamation mark has an expressive effect not only due to the emotive content of the preceding phrase but mainly because it is employed in contrast with the syntactic marks which follow (see periods in lines 3, 4, and 5)



Message 12 [99]

- |                                 |                                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. ANTE VRE BUGA                | 1. [hey] MY LITTLE tart,          |
| 2. POLY XAIROMAI!               | 2. I'M SO GLAD!                   |
| 3. RE EXW 8EOTRELH DOULEIA.     | 3. I HAVE A HELL OF WORK.         |
| 4. DEN KSERW ENTELWS SIGURA GIA | 4. I DON'T KNOW FOR SURE FOR      |
| AYRIO.                          | TOMORROW.                         |
| 5. PARE ME OTAN GYRISEIS APO TA | 5. CALL ME WHEN YOU GET BACK FROM |
| ISPANIKA.                       | SPANISH.                          |

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 21/01/04 – texter: Anna, time: 19.03

Message 13 illustrates another expressive use of exclamation marks by the same participant, i.e. Anna. Here, exclamation marks in lines 1 and 5 do not co-occur with any emotive expressions, as argued in the previous message (12). The exclamation mark in line 5 arguably conforms to the grammatical rules, outlined in § 4.3.1, since it is employed after the imperative *DES K ESY* (which may be interpreted as a kind of order). However, we cannot argue the same for line 1 which is an affirmative sentence without any lexical encoding of emotion. Apart from the initial affective use of the rude term *BLAKA* ('dumb'), the rest of the sentence functions as a report of a past event ('Vaso won eight invitations for us') and, thus, it is more informationally-oriented. On the other hand, the sentence in line 3 which also has a report function ('I don't know the details') is marked by a period. Thus, the contrast created between the two (line 1 and line 3) allows us to assume that the exclamation mark in line 1 is deliberately used for emphasis. Therefore, we can argue that the function of the specific mark is to attract the reader's attention to the specific event and, at the same time, add an expressive effect to the otherwise informational content of the sentence.

Message 13 [89]

- |                               |                                   |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. BLAKA H VASW MAS KERDISE 8 | 1. VASO WON 8 INVITATIONS FOR US! |
| PROSKLHSEIS!                  |                                   |

2. SKEFTESAI O,TI SKEFTOMAI?
3. LEPTOMEREIES DEN KSERW.
4. THA DW STO www.stathmos.gr
5. AN BOREIS DES K ESY!

2. THINKING WHAT I'M THINKING?
3. I DON'T KNOW THE DETAILS.
4. I'LL CHECK AT www.stathmos.gr
5. IF YOU CAN CHECK TOO!

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 24/09/03 – texter: Anna, time: 14.24

On the other hand, we cannot argue the same for the exclamation marks in message 14. As mentioned above, periods are totally absent from Fay's repertoire of punctuation. Instead, exclamation marks are employed at the end of all affirmative clauses. Thus, this practice deviates from the standard norms according to the grammatical rules of punctuation. Does this imply that exclamation marks have a different function in this context? To answer this question, we should look more closely to message 14.

#### Message 14 [42]

1. NANOYKI MOY,
2. ΜΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΘΗΣΑ!
3. ΕΙΜΑΙ ΕΞΩ ΠΙΣΩ ΑΠ'ΤΟ 2Ο ΔΕΝΤΡΟ!
4. ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ!
5. ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

1. MY [little] NANA,
2. JUST SAT DOWN
3. I'M OUTSIDE BEHIND THE 2ND TREE!
4. WAITING FOR YOU!
5. [little] KISSES!

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 29/08/03 – texter: Fay, time: 15.12

The term of address in line 1 is separated from the rest of the text by a comma (cf. message 12 above). In contrast, all the rest typographic units end with an exclamation mark. However, not all of them have an emotive content (as in line 2, message 12). More specifically, it can be argued that only the sign-off formula *ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ* 'kisses' has a clear emotional/affective tone in message 14. As for lines 2, 3, and 4, they serve a report function similar to lines 1 and 3 in message 13. For instance, Fay informs her friend, Nana, that she has just found a table in the café (line 2). In turn, she reports the table's exact location (line 3) and her status of being (line 4). Considering that Fay



does not use any periods at all, it is difficult to infer the effect of exclamation marks in her messages. Unless we wish to argue that she adds an expressive tone to every single affirmative sentence, exclamation marks seem to serve primarily syntactic, rather than expressive, functions in Fay's messages. As shown in message 14, they indicate the boundaries of main clauses (lines 2, 3, and 4). However, it is not easy to assume whether these clauses gain an expressive undertone by the use of exclamation marks. The absence of any contrast between the syntactic mark *par excellence*, i.e. period, and the expressive mark in Fay's punctuation practices leads me to argue that the particular affirmative sentences do not have expressive undertones. This argument is further reinforced by the observation that Fay employs other graphemic means in order to expressively enhance her text-messages, such as eccentric spelling (see message 10 in § 4.2.3 above) and emoticons (see § 4.3.4 below).

To sum up, this section has focused on the use of conventional punctuation marks in SMS. The data analysis has revealed that punctuation choices in my sample orient to contextual parameters, such as the technological specificities of the medium and the participants' gender. Although the marks afforded by the system and occurring in the data concern the conventional symbols found in grammars of Modern Greek, their function in the actual texts does not entirely coincide with the prescribed rules for punctuation. For example, it has been demonstrated that the use of exclamation marks at the end of every single affirmative sentences (as documented in Fay's messages) does not always entail enhanced expressivity in the specific texts. Therefore, my data suggest that unconventionality in SMS punctuation norms does not concern the limited use of such marks, as argued by popular representations (see § 1.2.3), but their 'abuse' in ways that are not prescribed in standard grammars.

### **4.3.3. Multiple Punctuation**

In addition to the use of standard punctuation marks alone, we also find in the data clusters of multiple such typographic symbols. The use of ‘multiple punctuation’ has been pointed out by CMC studies (Danet, 2001: 17) as an ‘emergent practice and convention of digital writing’. However, the specific phenomenon does not only appear in computer-mediated communication, but it has been also documented in informal, non-digital, written communication among friends. For example, Kataoka (1997; 2003a: 7; 2003b: 129) has discussed the practice of creating unconventional punctuation clusters from combining existing conventions in letter-writing among young Japanese women. In light of Kataoka’s findings, the graphemic device of multiple punctuation in digital media, such as text-messaging, cannot be unidirectionally associated with limitations of the technological system per se, such as the lack of paralinguistic cues. In other words, research on young Japanese letter-writing (idem) has foregrounded the interrelations between such graphemic choices and other contextual parameters, such as the participants’ age and relationships. This section aims to explore the use of multiple punctuation in my sample of Greek text-messages among young people in Athens.

The phenomenon of multiple punctuation has been identified in 109 (24.4%) text-messages out of the total sample. In particular, the participants in my study create novel clusters of punctuation marks in three basic ways:



### (a) Repetition of the same punctuation mark

The majority (n: 70, 64.2%) of the instances of multiple punctuation, found in my sample, concern the repetition of a punctuation mark. Although typing repeatedly the same character is not facilitated by the medium<sup>18</sup>, my participants do not hesitate to create punctuation clusters by multiplying existing symbols. More specifically, the most frequent punctuation marks (see figure 4.3) in my sample, i.e. the exclamation mark, the period, and the question mark,<sup>19</sup> are repeatedly typed and form novel punctuation clusters. Message 16 illustrates the use of such triplets of exclamation marks in Greek text-messages. Furthermore, multiple punctuation, such as the ‘enhanced’ (by an extra dot) suspension point in message 15, co-occurs with ‘eccentric spelling’ (Danet, 2001: 17), e.g. MMMM.

#### Message 15

MMMM....BPE TI ΜΑΣ ΛΕΣ?

MMMM.... VRE[-particle] WHAT ARE YOU  
TALKING ABOUT?

Case-study I, participants: Dimitra and Anna, day: 10/02/04 – texter: Dimitra, time: 23.11

#### Message 16 [19]

Hi!TI KANEIS;XAΘHKAME!!!ΠΑΡΕ ΤΗΛ. ΝΑ  
KANONISOYME. ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!BYE!!!

HI!HOW ARE YOU?LONG TIME NO  
SEE!!!CALL ME TO RRANGE!KISSES!BYE!!!

Questionnaire sample, male, 17-yr-old

<sup>18</sup> As mentioned in § 2.2.1, typing the same character requires from the user to pause for a while and wait for the cursor to move into the next slot. This is related to the fact that each key is designed to represent more than one character. So, immediate strokes on the same key display the sequence of letters available to be keyed in the specific slot but do not move the cursor to the next slot.

<sup>19</sup> As for their frequency of occurrence, exclamation marks have been found in 60% (n: 42) out of the total (n: 70) instances of punctuation clusters. Clusters of repeated periods represent 33% (n: 23) of the total sample, whereas the repetition of question marks concerns only a 7% (n: 5).

(b) Combination of different punctuation marks:

New clusters of multiple punctuation are created not only by the repetition of the same marks but also by the combination of different symbols (n: 24 out of 70). Among the existing punctuation, exclamation marks primarily (in 20 out of the 24 instances) appear as constituents in such clusters. They co-occur with a number of other punctuation marks, such as periods, dashes, parentheses (see message 17), question marks, and suspension points (see message 18). In turn, question marks are also combined with the above marks (with the exception of dash) in such clusters of multiple punctuation.

Message 17 [100]

MPOREIS NA 8YMH8EIS PU EXW	CAN YOU REMEMBER WHERE I
PARKAREI?EXW KANEI TO GYRO TOU	PARKED?I'VE WALKED TWICE AROUND
TETRAGWNOU DYO FORES(!)	THE SAME BLOCK(!)

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 23/01/04 – texter: Anna, time: 15.28

Message 18 [123]

ΣΟΡΥ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΠΡΙΝ ΛΙΓΟ ΜΕ ΓΥΡΙΣΕ ΣΠΙΤΙ	SORRY <i>ΑΒΑΠΗ</i> !HE GOT ME A SHORT WHILE
Κ ΜΙΛΑΓΑ ΜΕ ΤΗ ΜΑΝΑ ΜΟΥ!ΠΕΡΑΣΑΜΕ	AGO AND I WAS TALKING TO MY
ΠΟΛΥ ΚΑΛΑ...!ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΠΩ ΑΥΡΙΟ	MOM!WE HAD A GREAT TIME...!I'LL TELL
ΖΟΥΖΟΥ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ Κ ΣΤΟΥΣ 2!	YOU TOMORROW ΖΟΥΖΟΥ!KISSES TO THE
	2 OF YOU!

Case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Dimitra, day: 23/01/04 – texter: Elisavet, time: 12.00

(c) Combination of punctuation marks with repetition:

New clusters of punctuation are also created by the co-occurrence of the above two expressive devices. Thus, punctuation marks are used both in repetition and in



combination. As a result, we find sequences of at least three to maximum seven subsequent symbols (see message 19).

Message 19 [5]

ΘΕΛΩ ΔΥΟ ΜΑΤΙΑ ΝΑ ΜΕ ΚΟΙΤΑΝΕ	I WANT TWO EYES TO LOOK AT ME
ΓΛΥΚΑ,ΘΕΛΩ ΔΥΟ ΧΕΡΙΑ ΝΑ ΜΕ	SWEETLY, I WANT TWO HANDS TO HOLD
ΚΡΑΤΑΝΕ ΣΦΙΧΤΑ,ΘΕΛΩ ΔΥΟ ΧΕΙΛΗ ΝΑ	ME TIGHT, I WANT TWO LIPS TO KISS ME
ΜΕ ΦΙΛΑΝΕ ΑΠΑΛΑ!ΘΕΛΩ ΕΣΕΝΑ ΖΗΤΑΩ	GENTLY! I WANT YOU AM I ASKING TOO
ΠΟΛΛΑ;;;!!!	MUCH?????!!!

Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

Having identified the ways in which new clusters of punctuation are created from existing resources, I will discuss their function in the specific texts. Given that text-messages are written texts produced in a digital medium, non-verbal signs, such as prosodic (e.g. stress, intonation) and paralinguistic (e.g. tempo, laughter) features, are not available in this form of communication. However, previous research has shown that these signs are extremely important in communication. Gumperz (1992) argues that they act as ‘contextualization cues’, i.e. as signals which help participants to construe meaning in interaction. In other words, these cues index contextual aspects (sociocultural expectation and attitudes) which are relevant to the specific discourse activity.

Despite the importance of such paralinguistic cues in spoken interaction, little attention has been given to how these signals are encoded in written language. Within the area of CMC studies, Georgakopoulou (2001: 312-313) argues that code-related choices, such as code-switching and style-shifting, act as contextualization cues in emails, where visual and paralinguistic resources for communication are less readily available than in face-to-face encounters. In similar vein, Kataoka (2003a: 13-14)

focuses on the use of graphemic choices as contextualisation cues indexing affective/emotive stances in Japanese letter-writing among female friends. My findings regarding the unconventional use of punctuation in the specific context appear to resonate with the above literature.

Taking for example (message 20), Elisavet sends a text-message to her friend, Maria, in order to arrange a meeting. Such messages of coordinating mundane matters of everyday life abound in my sample. As for the specific pair of participants, although they regularly see each other, since they go to the same (tutoring) school, they routinely exchange a small message to set up the meeting. However, the use of multiple punctuation, together with the eccentric spelling *KAAAAAAAA* ‘fine’, conveys something more than just a meeting arrangement. The expressive device foregrounds a discourse unit which disrupts the sequential pattern<sup>20</sup> of the message. The utterance *ΕΓΩ KAAAAAAAA* ‘I’m fiiiine’, i.e. the second adjacency pair of a how-are-you sequence, is not normally provided by the same speaker. On the other hand, the presence of both adjacent turns gives a dialogic effect in the text. At the same time, the use of the pronoun *ΕΓΩ* ‘I’ foregrounds the identity of the writer/sender of the message. Thus, I argue that the unconventional use of punctuation, together with unconventional spelling help participants to experience the written words as if they were uttered in the oral medium. The particular graphemic choices act as contextualization cues which index the writer’s emotive stance within the context of an otherwise mundane message.

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<sup>20</sup> As will be argued in chapter 5, text-messages exhibit a prototypical generic structure, which will be realized as opening, greeting (‘hello’) and term of address (*avapi*), and body, general enquiry (‘how are you?’) and arranging request (‘tomorrow at 10.30 outside the school?’) in this message.



Message 20 [124]

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΑΒΑΠΗ Μ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΕΓΩ  
ΚΑΛΑΑΑΑ...!ΑΥΡΙΟ 10:30 ΕΞΩ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ  
ΦΡΟΝΤ;

HI MY *AVAP!*!HOW ARE YOU?I'M  
FIIIIINE..!TOMORROW 10.30 OUTSIDE THE  
SCHOOL

Case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 30/01/04 – texter: Elisavet, time: 20.36

At the same time, punctuation can be viewed as a means of ‘framing’ in a broader sense (Kress, 2003: 122). From the point of view of standard grammars, punctuation indicates and, thus, ‘frames’ boundaries of syntactic structures and intonational or prosodic units. However, punctuation is a dynamic and productive resource which can be used for framing structures or units at different levels. For instance, assuming that an individual text-message is a unit in itself (at least when viewed as part of an interactional sequence), multiple punctuation is arguably employed to frame the end of the message-unit (see messages 16, 17, 19). Furthermore, clusters of multiple punctuation marks also appear at the boundaries of higher-level discourse units, indicating a shift in topic or signalling a move from the main body of the message to its closing section (see messages 16 and 18). Therefore, I argue that punctuation functions as a means of framing not only syntactic or intonational structures but also wider discourse/textual units (see chapter 5).

#### 4.3.4. ‘Smileys’

Particular clusters of typographic symbols create little icons, called ‘smileys’. The composition of these icons follows the linear and horizontal progression of writing from left to right. In other words, the typographic symbols are typed successively in a

horizontally linear order and one should tilt the head toward the left shoulder in order to ‘see’ the smiley. The difference between such typographic clusters and the aforementioned punctuation clusters lies in the representation of the psychological state (e.g. emotion) that they are assumed to convey. The connection between the shape of a conventional punctuation mark and the corresponding emotive stance is ‘highly arbitrary’ (Kataoka, 2003a: 22).<sup>21</sup> In other words, the association between the sign and its meaning is established through convention (as prescribed in grammar books, see § 4.3.1) and/or the specific context of use. However, the punctuation marks employed in ‘smileys’ or ‘emoticons’ lose their symbolic and conventionalized function. In fact, the shapes of individual signs are combined in order to graphemically (or iconically) represent the respective facial expressions indexing the participant’s stance towards the message and/or the addressee.

The use of such icons originates in cyberculture and is extremely popular on the Internet (Danet, 2001: 2). However, my findings regarding the use of smileys in Greek text-messaging corroborate with Thurlow’s (2003b: 17) observation that ‘the famous emoticon [...] appears to be [...] relatively infrequent’ in his sample of English messages. In the whole data-set of 447 text-messages, I have identified only 16 (3.6%) instances of smileys. As shown in table 1, the ‘smileys’ found in the data are the following: a) basic smiley or ‘smiling face’, composed of a colon, an (optional) dash, and an end-parenthesis, b) ‘winking face’, composed of a semi-colon (or Greek question mark), an (optional) dash, and an end-parenthesis, c) ‘big smile face’, composed of a colon, a dash, and a capital ‘d’, d) ‘sticking tongue out face’,

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<sup>21</sup> As Kataoka (2003a: 22) points out, ‘Here the relation between a propositional meaning and the attached symbolic emotive sign is fundamentally loose; e.g., the “shapes” of <!> and <?> originally have nothing to do with such psychological (and partially emotive) stances as “exclamation” and “interrogation”.’



composed of a colon and a capital ‘p’, e) ‘happy face’, composed of an equals sign and a right-/end-parenthesis, f) ‘sad face’, composed of a colon, an equals sign, and a left-parenthesis, g) unknown face<sup>22</sup>. In terms of frequency, the most popular emoticons in my sample are the smiling and winking faces (11 out of 16 instances in total), which are also ‘commonly used online’ (Danet, 2001: 1).

Meaning	Form	Total
smiling face	:-) :)	7
winking	;-) ;)	4
big smile	:-D	1
sticking tongue out	: P	1
happy face	=)	1
sad face	: =(	1
‘unknown’	:-α	1

Table 4.3. ‘smileys’

Despite the overall unpopularity of emoticons in Greek text-messaging, my data suggest that the ‘smiley’ is more popular among female rather than male participants. In fact, the majority – 13 out of the total 16 instances – of emoticons have been found in texts composed by female users. More specifically, smileys occur in the messages of Fay (n: 7; see messages 51 and 54 in appendix IV) and Nana (n: 2; see message 79), participating in my case-studies, and in a small number (n: 4) of texts from my questionnaire sample, reported to be sent by female users (see message 21). This finding, together with my earlier claim on the female preference for expressive punctuation in my data, indicates that there are gendered patterns in the use of text-messaging (cf. Yates et al, 2005). In addition, my findings corroborate with studies on

<sup>22</sup> I have not found this smiley (consisting of a colon, a dash, and the currency symbol) among the Internet lists or popular dictionaries of emoticons

both offline and online women's talk arguing that women are more preoccupied with building 'rapport' in interaction by means of expressive, verbal and non-verbal, devices. It is not, thus, surprising that emoticons co-occur with other verbal expressions of emotion, such as *i love you* in message 21.

Message 21 [6]

You're the most treasured person for me coz now

you're a part of my life that's why i call you ...

"LOVE" i love you.. muaahhh =)

Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

#### 4.3.5. Other printing symbols

The @ ('at') symbol originates in medieval scribal calligraphy and was used in commercial handwriting as a symbol of the notion of 'price' in the nineteenth century. This 'commercial A' or 'commercial at' became later a standard printing feature of the typewriter keyboard<sup>23</sup>. Today, it appears as a basic component of all email addresses worldwide<sup>24</sup>. At the same time, it is the most popular 'expressive symbol of emergent cyberculture' (Danet, 2001: 2); widely used in online and print journalism, book titles, advertising, etc.

Despite the symbol's widespread popularity, it appears only once in the whole data set. The specific message (22) belongs to the sample collected through the

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<sup>23</sup> Danet (2001: 2) provides a summary of the history of this symbol which 'is an intriguing microcosm of developments in the history of writing'.

<sup>24</sup> The @ symbol is vocalized as *παπάκι* ('duckling') in Greek. In other languages, it has different vocalizations, e.g. *escargot* ('snail') in French, *kammerklaffe* ('spider mankey') in German, etc (Danet, 2001: 44).



questionnaire survey and is a ‘chain message’<sup>25</sup>. As shown in message 22 the @ symbol is part of a cluster of typographic symbols, preceded by two rightwards arrows [→→@]. Similar to smileys, the composition of this icon follows the linear and horizontal progression of writing (only this time one has to tilt the head towards the right shoulder in order to view it). However, in terms of its function, the particular cluster of symbols operates in the specific context in a manner different from how ‘smileys’ are used. In fact, the use of the particular symbols serves as an ‘iconic’, visual, illustration of the word *ΛΟΥΛΟΥΔΙ* (‘flower’), which precedes in the text. Moreover, the asterisk [\*] is also used in a similar way, i.e. as a visual, graphemic, representation of the word preceding, *ΑΣΤΕΡΙ* (‘star’). Therefore, it can be argued that the written, graphemic, quality of the medium offers participants resources for visually and aesthetically enhancing their texts.

#### Message 22 [17]

AN ΗΣΟΥΝ ΑΣΤΕΡΙ \*, ΘΑ 'ΣΟΥΝ ΤΟ ΠΙΟ  
ΛΑΜΠΕΡΟ. AN ΗΣΟΥΝ ΛΟΥΛΟΥΔΙ  
→→@,ΘΑ 'ΣΟΥΝ ΤΟ ΠΙΟ ΩΡΑΙΟ Κ AN  
ΗΣΟΥΝ ΕΝΤΑΞΕΙ,ΘΑ 'ΣΤΕΛΝΕΣ Κ ΚΑΝΑ  
ΜΗΝΥΜΑ...

IF YOU WERE A STAR \*,YOU WOULD BE  
THE BRIGHTEST.IF YOU WERE A  
FLOWER,YOU'D BE THE MOST BEAUTIFUL  
'N' IF YOU WERE ALRIGHT,YOU'D SEND  
US A TEXT...

Questionnaire sample, female, 16-yr-old

#### **4.4. Conclusion**

Similar to chapter 3 exploring the choice of alphabetical script in Greek text-messaging, the users’ appropriation of other graphemic resources, afforded by the

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<sup>25</sup> See § 2.5 for the definition of ‘chain messages’. Note that practices related to cyberculture are more prevalent in ‘chain’ messages rather than in ‘personal’ text-messages (see similar findings in chapter 3).

medium, remains the focus in the current chapter. The system of SMS provides a set of Roman and/or Greek alphabetical characters in their upper- and/or lower-case form, together with conventional punctuation marks and other typographic symbols, like asterisks, arrows, etc. Although the use of such graphemic resources is regulated by standard grammars of Modern Greek (cf. Triantafyllidis, 1976; Mackridge 1985; Tsolakis, 1988), the participants in my study do not hesitate to overlook the grammatical rules for capitalization and punctuation in their actual text-messages.

First, and foremost, the norm of ‘all upper-case script’ in Greek text-messaging is related to the technological system of SMS and the users’ orientation towards speed in typing. Considering that the alternation between upper- and lower-case characters requires more keystrokes, the default upper-case script conforms to the ‘saving-a-keystroke’ principle of digital writing (cf. Crystal, 2001: 87), while deviating from the norms of standard writing. Therefore, although strict capitalization in Greek text-messaging appears to differ from the norm of lower-case script in other computer-mediated environments, it is, in fact, driven by the same principle orienting to issues of brevity and speed in writing. Moreover, the parameter of time and speed has also been relevant in my participants’ choice of non-Greek symbols for specific punctuation marks. For example, the high frequency of English question marks in my sample correlates with the fact that it appears before the Greek equivalent form in the series of punctuation marks displayed on the mobile screen.

However, the technological specificities of the medium and the relevant needs for brevity and speed in a short and instant message do not suffice to account for other unconventional graphemic choices. Together with the ‘time-saving’, unmarked,



practice of capitalization, this chapter has examined the ‘time-/effort-consuming’, marked, use of momentary switches in letter shape, multiple punctuation, emoticons and eccentric spelling in Greek text-messaging. As argued in the analysis of these phenomena above, the use of such marked graphemic choices is associated with another aspect of the medium: the paucity of paralinguistic cues. Like other (traditionally) written and digital media, text-messaging does not afford the communication of prosodic features or other non-verbal signals through facial expressions and gestures. However, text-based interaction in the new media age has challenged traditional conceptions of writing as ‘objective’, ‘formal’ or ‘abstract’ (cf. Baron, 2000: 21) and has resurged the interest in paralinguistic and non-verbal features of the written word. The above examination of capitalization and punctuation suggests that my participants employ the graphemic mode as a resource in order to convey prosodic features in their messages (cf. Thurlow’s ‘paralinguistic restitution’, 2003b: 17). In other words, I have argued that momentary switches in letter shape and eccentric spelling indicate the participants’ preoccupation with ‘experienc[ing] the [written] words as if they were spoken’ (Danet, 2001: 17) and, thus, index a sense of orality and informality reminiscent of face-to-face interaction (cf. Kataoka, 2003a: 12).

Furthermore, the above marked graphemic devices do not occur randomly in the texts under consideration. Rather, their position resonates at topic boundaries and at the beginning and/or end of a message. Along with indicating participants’ awareness of an implicit textual organisation (see chapter 5), multiple punctuation and emoticons operate as contextualisation cues in a medium of reduced paralinguistic signals. In other words, my participants manipulate conventional punctuation marks and create

novel typographic clusters in order to index their emotive stance(s) towards the addressee and the text. As for the text-messages gathered from my case-studies, I have argued that the affective performance by means of graphemic cues is associated with the given context, which concerns the interaction between close friends with a long and dense interactional history (see chapter 2). The co-occurrence of such graphemic devices with verbal affective elements consolidates the intimate ties between the participant pair of the texter and the textee. Apart from reinforcing intimacy and solidarity, the use of affective elements has been also found to index the participant's gender. In particular, the abundance of emotive graphemic devices in the texts composed by female participants corroborates with previous studies (e.g. Tannen, 1990) which have stressed the women's preoccupation with building 'rapport' in spoken interaction. However, the practice of manipulating conventional graphemic signs for expressive purposes is not unique to text-messaging. Emoticons, multiple punctuation, and eccentric spelling have been also documented in both online and offline genres, such as emails (Danet, 2001), traditional letters (Kataoka 1997, 2003a, 2003b), greeting cards (Danet, 2001), comic books, etc. Therefore, we can speculate that these practices have migrated to text-messaging from other vernacular literacies, which share an orientation towards emotive and phatic communication among familiars.



**PART II**

**GENERIC NORMS:**

**ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL INTERACTION**

## **Chapter 5**

### **Sequential patterns**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to explore how text-messages are organized in terms of sequential patterns. As mentioned in § 2.1, the particular methods employed in data collection have been selected so that the analyst would have access to text-messages not only as individual texts but also as parts of longer exchanges with multiple contributions from each participant. This paradoxical nature of text-messaging<sup>1</sup> - on the one hand, being neither a traditionally written text nor an oral conversation and, on the other, being similar in some respects to both - has been claimed about computer-mediated genres as well (see § 1.3.2).

However, so far CMC studies have dealt with issues of sequential organisation treating synchronous and asynchronous computer media separately. This a priori distinction between synchronous and asynchronous media in terms of their technological specificities does not allow for an analysis which moves beyond this dichotomy. In this chapter, I will attempt to provide an integrative account of how text-messaging is sequentially organised both in terms of asynchronous, individual,

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<sup>1</sup> In other words, text-messaging is reminiscent of text-based online communication, which can be conceived as 'doubly attenuated and doubly enhanced' (Danet, 2001: 12): 'enhanced speech and writing' because of the possibilities for editing and establishing immediacy at the same time, and 'attenuated speech and writing' due to the lack of paralinguistic signals and of tangible material form.



text-messages and in terms of multiple contributions in a, quasi-synchronous, interactional sequence.

At the same time, I will explore to what extent text-messaging follows the sequential patterns documented in studies of other existing mediated genres (e.g. Goutsos, 2001; Herring, 1996b). This comparison is aimed at revealing if the users of the new medium also employ new patterns in the organisation of their messages. Such a hypothesis would be plausible according to popular representations that insist on the novel and revolutionary nature of the recently appeared text-messaging (see § 1.2.3).

In order to look more closely at the internal organisation of individual texts, I will first establish the minimal unit of analysis into which the specific messages can be divided. Then, I will explore how these minimal units are organised into larger discourse units. The discussion will show that the internal organization of individual text-messages orients to the prototypical tripartite pattern of ‘opening-body-closing’, documented in other mediated genres as well. However, the investigation of variation in the realization of the above tripartite structure will reveal that the organization of text-messaging attends to specific interactional issues related to the establishment of contact, the maintenance of social relationships and the topic of the text-exchange.

## **5.2. ‘Utterances’ as minimal units of analysis**

The theoretical assumption, underpinning the following analysis of text-messages, is that texts consist of smaller discourse units which are interrelated into a structural whole. Within discourse studies it is widely assumed that any piece of discourse does

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not just consist of a series of unrelated sentences, but is also organised into a whole including interrelated units at different levels. Discourse units are by no means interrelated in any simple or unique way. Drawing on the basic assumption that discourse is linearly developed and arranged (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 1997: 69-70), one relation that certainly exists between the units is that of 'preceding-following'. Relevant to this sequential property of discourse is the idea that the units do not only co-occur in a sequence but also progress with a certain directionality, implying notions of beginning and ending as discourse unfolds.

In order to explore the sequential patterns in text-messaging, I will first attempt to discuss the minimal discourse unit which will be employed for identifying and analyzing the relevant parts of an individual text-message. The aim of this section is to define the minimal unit of analysis by establishing a set of criteria. On the basis of these criteria, we will be able to identify the boundaries of the discourse units under consideration in their linear unfolding in discourse. Having established what serves as the minimal unit in my analysis, I will proceed into how these units are sequentially related in the following sections.

In fact, the notion of 'utterance' will serve as the minimal unit in my analysis of text-messages. The specific notion has been fundamental in Discourse Analysis. Among the definitions of discourse included in Schiffrin's (1994: 39) introduction to the specific area of study, we find that 'discourse is utterances'. In other words, utterances are presented as the units par excellence of which discourse consists. More specifically, the definition of utterances as 'units of language production (whether spoken or written) that are inherently contextualized' (Schiffrin, 1994: 41) reveals a



theoretical preoccupation with the study of language in its context of use<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, assuming that discourse consists of more than one utterance draws the analyst's attention to how these units follow one another and what extended patterns are created. Thus, the advantage of employing such a unit of analysis lies in that it brings together the more formal, structurally-oriented, attention to sequential patterns with the more functionally-oriented attention to language use in context.

Moreover, as mentioned before (cf. § 1.3.1), text-messaging has a rather hybrid nature, associated with aspects of both written texts and spoken conversation. As a result, a unit, like 'utterance', not overtly associated with a specific genre - spoken or written, conversational or not, appears more applicable in the analysis of SMS. For example, the main criterion for the identification of an 'idea unit' (Chafe, 1980: 13) in spoken discourse analysis is the intonational one, which cannot be applied in the analysis of messages with no acoustic properties. Furthermore, units introduced by conversation analysis, like the 'adjacency pair' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973: 295-296), can be more readily employed in synchronous modes of communication, which allow for immediate feedback and turn adjacency between different speakers. Such synchronicity – at least in technological terms – is not feasible in text-messaging, since participants are not usually co-present and receive text-messages only after the latter's editing has been completed.

Another advantage of the 'utterance' as the unit for my analysis of text-messages is its minimal length. As implied by their technological name 'Short Message Service', text-messages are very short texts, which may consist of one word only (see § 2.6).

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<sup>2</sup> In contrast, 'sentences' are the basic units of analysis in linguistic traditions which study language-as-a-system outside its context of use. Thus, utterances are often defined as 'realisations' or 'inscriptions' of sentences (Hurford & Heasley, 1983: 15).

Thus, units suggested by previous research on written texts are not easily applied to text-messaging. For example, the 'paragraph' (Longacre, 1979: 115; Hinds, 1979: 136) corresponds to a discourse unit which includes more than one word. Such units have been posited to consist of lower-level constituents called 'segments' (Hinds, 1979: 140). At the same time, we should bear in mind that this line of research has focused on written expository and traditional epistolary texts which are considerably longer than modern text-messages. Considering a genre which resembles more to the messages under consideration, Herring (1996b: 86) employs 'macrosegments' as units in her analysis of electronic messages<sup>3</sup>. However, this discourse unit presupposes smaller constituents-segments and, thus, cannot serve as a minimal unit of analysis.

Having discussed the theoretical motivations which lead me to choose 'utterance' among other units of analysis, I turn now to the criteria I employ in order to segment the particular text-messages into the relevant units. The primary criterion for identifying the boundaries of an utterance is the use of punctuation marks and other, non-alphabetical, typographic symbols. The use of such, non-verbal, typographic characters is significant in the context of the medium's technological affordances which impose constraints on the total number of characters available for use. Moreover, it has been shown that punctuation is conceived not only as a grammatical system regulating the formalities of written language but also as a graphemic resource manipulated by participants for contextualizing and framing discourse. In other words, punctuation marks provide the analyst with insights as to what the participants themselves conceive as points of closure of a discourse unit in text-messaging. However, we should bear in mind that the utterance, as a unit in the following

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<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that the data used in Herring's study are emails posted in academic mailing lists and not personal emails which would resemble more the kind of text-messages I collected.



analysis, does not exclusively correlate with a typographic sentence - or, in Chafe's (1988) terms<sup>4</sup>, a 'punctuation unit'.

The segmentation of text-messages into utterances on the basis of the above criteria has revealed that punctuation marks co-occur with other signals indicating boundaries of a discourse unit. For instance other graphemic choices we have already discussed, such as the use of upper- or lower-case letters (see § 4.2) and Greek or Roman alphabet (see § 3.5-7), are also found to signal utterance-boundaries. In addition, the use of discourse markers and phatic particles co-occurs with (typo)graphic marking. Furthermore, transition from one typographic sentence to another may happen along with shifts in tense, pronominal reference or mood. Therefore, the above graphemic and verbal signals have been employed as criteria for identifying utterances even within the boundaries of a typographic sentence.

Message 1	Identification of utterances in terms of both graphemic and verbal criteria	
Ti ginetai vre orgio?Pu xenyxtas?Giati den exw oute ena neo otan xerw oti esy exeis...POLLA?A utos o xemialistis o thanos ftaiei!Ax!	1. Ti ginetai vre orgio? 2. Pu xenyxtas? 3. Giati den exw oute ena neo 4. otan xerw oti esy exeis... 5. POLLA? 6. Autos o xemialistis o thanos ftaiei! 7. Ax!	1. What's up vre[-particle] orgy <sup>5</sup> ? 2. Where are you spending the night? 3. How come I got no news [from you] 4. while I know you've got... 5. PLENTY [to tell]? 6. This charmer, <i>thanos</i> <sup>6</sup> , is to blame! 7. Ah!
case-study I, participants: Melina and Nana, day: 29/07/03 - <i>texter: Melina, time: 00.34</i>		

Table 5.1. Segmentation of text-messages into 'utterances'

<sup>4</sup> A 'punctuation unit' represents a discourse unit between two punctuation marks (Chafe, 1988).

<sup>5</sup> The word *όργιο* (in Greeklish, *orgio*) literally means a 'feast', an 'orgy'. Here, it is used as a slang term of address meaning metaphorically a person with a shocking behaviour.

<sup>6</sup> *thanos* is a boy's name.



Table 5.1 provides an illustration of how the above criteria can be applied for identifying ‘utterances’ within individual text-messages. As shown in the final column of the table, message 1 consists of seven utterances. Following the graphemic criterion of punctuation marks, we can readily identify the boundaries of utterance-units 2, 5, 6, and 7. With regard to utterance 5, the participant’s shift to upper-case letters constitutes an additional criterion for distinguishing this unit from the rest of the text. However, the participant’s use of graphemic devices does not suffice to identify the boundaries of utterance 5. As mentioned above, the use of discourse/textual cues, like the conjunction *otan* (‘while’), can indicate the transition into another utterance-unit. As a result, the segmentation of a text into its relevant units also attends to other verbal (i.e. non-graphemic) features.

### 5.3. Sequential patterns in other genres: an overview

Before proceeding with the sequential organization of the above utterances into larger discourse units in text-messaging, I will first provide an overview of the literature on sequential patterns in other relevant genres. The internal structure of texts has been one of the main preoccupations of text linguistics. Genre analysis (e.g. Swales, 1990) has categorized specific genres, for example expository essays, personal notes, letters, etc. into two basic text-type categories: informational and interactive texts. Within this framework, each text-type has a distinctive schematic structure. In other words, every text prototypically exhibits a conventional sequence of larger discourse units, which may be signaled by specific linguistic cues. More specifically, informationally-oriented texts, such as scientific and expository essays, reports, etc. are typically

structured with reference to the informational expository schema, which consists of four basic parts; see table 5.2. On the other hand, interactionally-oriented texts, such as personal notes, letters, conversational turns, etc. share a generalized internal structure including three basic parts. The core part, i.e. the ‘contentful message’, is preceded and followed by parts which link the message to the larger interactive context and optional opening and closing conventions.

Informational Expository Schema		Interactive Schema	
1.	Identification of problem	(Opening epistolary conventions)	
2.	Proposal of solution	1.	Link to previous discourse
3.	Evidence in support of solution	2.	Contentful message
4.	Evaluation of solution	3.	Link to following discourse
		(Closing epistolary conventions)	

Table 5.2. Prototypical structures of text-types (from Herring, 1996b: 84)

This idealized<sup>7</sup> prototypical structure appears to be influential for subsequent studies of sequential patterns of other technologically-mediated genres. First of all, Herring (1996b: 86-91) argues that electronic messages<sup>8</sup> are organised into the following sequential parts: a) the ‘introduction’, which primarily represents a link to an earlier message, b) the ‘body’, of which the ‘preferred realization’ (Herring, 1996b: 91) is an expression of views, and c) the ‘close’, which functions as an appeal to other participants. With regard to Greek emails, Georgakopoulou (2001: 308-309), in her study of e-mail communication between intimates, implies a similar pattern of an ‘opening’-‘body’-‘closing’ sequence. However, she points out that ‘opening and closing sections (e.g., greetings, routines) are normally absent in e-mail’ (Georgakopoulou, 2001: 308).

<sup>7</sup> Such prototypical structures are not ‘idealized’ in the sense that they are arbitrarily and theoretically constructed. In contrast, the analyst arrives at the ‘idealization’ of such structures by empirically investigating recurrent patterns in actual texts (cf. van Dijk, 1980).

<sup>8</sup> The messages collected by Herring (1996b) concern emails posted in Internet mailing lists.



Furthermore, studies of sequential patterns of both Greek (Goutsos, 2001) and English (Liddicoat, 1994; Gold, 1991) answering machine messages reveal a tripartite generic structure, consisting of: a) an optional 'opening' which is realized as an address to recipient, a self-identification of the caller, and a greeting, b) a compulsory 'main body' which refers to the reason for calling, and c) an optional 'closing', including a call-off and a greeting. The same sequential pattern is assumed in Mavreas' study (2004: 468-469) on openings and closings of Greek text-messages. As Goutsos (2001: 361) points out, the opening and closing phases, implied also in the sequential patterns of emails, resemble the openings and closings in telephone conversations. The study of telephone calls has been one of the primary preoccupations of Conversation Analysis (e.g. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). More specifically, CA studies have divided telephone calls into three main phases which are explored separately; namely, the opening, the main topic (i.e. the reason for making the call), and the closing (cf. Pavlidou, 2002: 201). It should be noted that the research interest of Conversation Analysis on talk-in-interaction differs significantly from the focus of Genre Analysis on text-types and their internal structures. However, despite their apparent differences, both research traditions assume a similar pattern in the organization of different genres spanning from conversations to written texts, such as traditional letters.

In the above discussion, there is one basic underlying assumption; namely, the relationships which sequentially develop between the discourse units are of the type 'beginning-middle-end'. In sum, the generic pattern for all mediated genres includes three basic (macro-)structural units: a) 'opening', b) 'body', and c) 'closing'. These three units constitute the 'Generic Structure Potential' (Halliday & Hasan, 1985) according to which each genre exhibits a different configuration of optional and



obligatory elements of structure. With regard to the specific structure, the above studies suggest that the peripheral units, i.e. opening and closing, are optional in all genres, except for telephone calls. Considering the functions that these units have been found to serve in the literature, openings and closings are oriented towards the textual and interpersonal aspects of language (cf. Halliday's language functions, 1978). In other words, they fulfil the functions of linking the message to previous or upcoming discourse (textual) and of establishing the roles and relationships between the participants, along with their stance towards the message itself (interpersonal). On the other hand, the core unit of the 'main body', i.e. the topic or purpose of communication, serves the ideational function, in Hallidayan terms.

#### **5.4. Generic structure of text-messages**

In the previous section, I have argued that the relevant literature on sequential patterns of mediated genres supports the existence of a prototypical tripartite structure of 'opening'-'body'-'closing'. This section aims to explore whether and how this prototypical structure is realized in the text-messages collected. More specifically, I will focus on the sequential signals, i.e. on the participants' specific linguistic and textual choices, which serve as a means of opening and closing an individual message or indicating transition points from one discourse unit to another. As Georgakopoulou & Goutsos argue, taking into account the participants' specific linguistic choices implies an analytic stance that approaches the structure of texts 'as a construct of the interaction between discourse participants' (1997: 74). The analysis of each structural part will be primarily preoccupied with the types of utterances employed for their

realization and will focus on the relative frequency and sequential order among the identified utterance-units.

### 5.4.1. Opening

As shown in table 5.3, the utterances counted as openings in my sample belong, in brief, to the following categories: (a) the (pseudo-)greeting<sup>9</sup> phatic particle(s) *έλα (ρε)*, which is roughly equivalent to the English ‘hey’, (b) the greetings *καλημέρα* ‘good morning’ or *καλησπέρα* ‘good afternoon’, and *hello*, occurring either in its English or Greek equivalent form *γεια (σου)*, (c) the phatic enquiries *τι κάνεις* ‘how are you’ and *τι γίνεται* ‘what’s up’, and (d) the self-identification move *είμαι ο/η...* ‘this is ... (+name)’. However, the analysis of the text-messages (n: 447) gathered for the purposes of the present thesis suggests that the opening part is not realized in all messages. In fact, opening moves have been identified in only 21.3% (n: 95) of the total sample. In terms of their frequency, table 5.3 indicates that the second category of opening greetings, such as ‘good morning’ and ‘hello’, includes the most (n: 53, 46.1%) instances of occurrence in my data.

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<sup>9</sup> I call these particles ‘(pseudo-)greeting’, because they ‘can be used in the place of greetings’ (Sifianou, 2002: 50).

OPENING MOVES		Instances of occurrence	
		n: 115 <sup>10</sup>	%
(PSEYDO-)GREETING	έλα (ρε) 'hey'	18	15.7
GREETING	καλημέρα 'good morning'	33	28.7
	καλησπέρα 'good afternoon'	5	4.3
	γεια (σου) 'hi'	11	9.6
	hi, hello	4	3.5
HOW-ARE-YOU	τι κάνεις 'how are you'	30	26.1
	τι γίνεται 'what's up'	10	8.7
SELF-IDENTIFICATION	είμαι ο/η ... 'this is ...'	4	3.5

Table 5.3. Categories and frequency of opening moves

More specifically, opening moves in Greek text-messaging are realized in my sample as follows:

(a) the phatic particle έλα:

The (pseudo-)greeting έλα, of which the literal meaning is 'come' (i.e. the imperative form of the verb 'to come'), is frequently employed as a phatic particle in openings of informal telephone calls between closely related persons (cf. Pavlidou, 1994: 495; Sifianou, 2002: 82; Antonopoulou & Sifianou, 2003: 750). Pavlidou (1995: 718) associates the literal meaning of the word with its pragmatic function which is argued to operate as a signal of reducing the distance between the caller and the callee in the context of telephone conversations. In a similar vein, this phatic particle, occurring always at the very beginning of individual texts, cues the (re-)establishment of contact between the physically remote co-participants in text-messaging. At the same time, its indexical value of familiarity and informality (cf. Tannen & Kakava, 1992) in the

<sup>10</sup> The discrepancy between the total instances (n: 115) of opening moves and the total number of messages (n: 95) including an opening section is due to the fact that the opening part of a single message may consist of more than one opening move.



current context is further enhanced by the co-occurrence with other particles, such as *ρε*,<sup>11</sup> and terms of address, like *ΦΙΛΕ* ‘mate’ (see message 2).

#### Message 2 [131]

ΕΛΑ ΡΕ ΦΙΛΕ ΠΟΙΟ ΚΑΛΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟ ΕΙΧΕΣ	<i>ELA RE[-particles] HEY MATE WHICH WAS</i>
ΠΑΡΕΙ ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΕΙΣ ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΙΚΑ1	<i>THE GOOD BOOK YOU BORROWED FROM</i>
ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ?	<i>THE LIBRARY TO READ FOR</i>
	<i>ELECTRONICS1<sup>12</sup>?</i>

case-study III, participants: Nikos and Kostas, day: 19/09/03 – texter: Kostas, time: 10.00

#### (b) greetings:

The types of greeting formulae found in my sample are the following: *καλημέρα* ‘good morning’ (n: 33, 28.7%), *γεια (σου)* ‘hi’ (n: 11, 9.6%), *καλησπέρα* ‘good afternoon’ (n: 5, 4.3%), *hi* (n: 2, 1.7%), and *hello* (n: 2, 1.7%). Like the above phatic particle *έλα*, these greeting formulae appear at the very beginning of the texts under consideration (see message 3). As mentioned in § 3.7.2, conversational routines from English, like the opening greetings *hi/hello*, appear rarely in my data. This observation ties in with findings from studies on Greek telephone openings where greetings like ‘hi’, ‘pronto’, etc. have been documented (cf. Antonopoulou & Sifianou, 2001: 747). In most (n: 38, 71.7%) cases, the above greeting formulae do not appear alone, but co-occur with terms of address, such as the affective term *ΑΒΑΠΗ* which Maria and Elisavet mutually employ to address each other (see message 3).

#### Message 3 [109]

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ! ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΝΑ ΕΧΕΙΣ	<i>GOOD MORNING AVAPI! HOPE YOU ARE</i>
ΞΥΠΝΗΣΕΙ... ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕ ΤΗΛ. ΟΤΑΝ	<i>AWAKE... CALL ME WHEN YOU CAN.</i>
ΜΠΟΡΕΣΕΙΣ. ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ	<i>[little] KISSES</i>

<sup>11</sup> ‘ρε’ is an untranslatable particle, deriving from the Ancient Greek adjective ‘μωρός’, meaning ‘stupid’.

<sup>12</sup> *ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΙΚΑ1* ‘Electronics1’ is one of the University courses which Kostas attends.

case-study II, participants: Maria and Elisavet, day: 07/09/03 – texter: Maria, time: 10.00

(c) ‘how-are-you’ inquiry:

The ‘how-are-you’ inquiry appears in my sample of Greek text-messages either as the formula *τι κάνεις* ‘how are you’ (n: 30, 26.1%) or the more colloquial *τι γίνεται / τι έγινε / τι γίνεσαι* ‘what’s up’ (n: 10, 8.7%). As for the position of such formulae in individual texts, they do not only occur at the very beginning of the message, but they have been also found to follow one of the above categories, i.e. a greeting (see message 4) or the phatic particle *έλα*. In other words, unlike the above greetings, the ‘how-are-you’ inquiry can occupy the second position within an individual message.

Message 4 [26]

Καλημερα μωρουλινι, τι κανεις; Εμεις τωρα παμε για δουλεια. Φιλακια! Questionnaire sample, male, 21-yr-old	Good morning my little baby, how are you? We’re heading to work now. [little] kisses!
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(d) self-identification:

The relatively few instances (n: 4, 3.5%) of self-identification moves in text-messaging are due to the fact that the technological system identifies by default the phone number from which the message is sent. Considering that the owner of a mobile phone is assumed to take on the roles of either the person who authors and is responsible for a sent text (texter) or the intended addressee of a received text (textee), the relevant parties do not need to draw on verbal or other paralinguistic (e.g. the sound of a person’s voice) signals in order to identify each other. However, the texter may choose to explicitly identify herself in case she thinks that the other person will not be able to recognize the phone number and, thus, the original sender of the message. In message 5, we observe that the participant identifies herself by the



formulaic ‘name+είμαι’ (‘this is +name’). Moreover, the reference to the location *ANT/ΠΟΣ* (the island of Antiparos) functions as an aside and provides additional information which will help the reader to recognize the original sender.

#### Message 5 [28]

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΓΛΥΚΙΑ ΜΟΥ! Η ΛΗΔΑ ΕΙΜΑΙ	GOOD MORNING MY SWEETIE! THIS IS
(ΑΝΤ/ΠΟΣ) ΣΟΥ ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΚΑΛΗ	LEDA (ANT/ROS) I WISH YOU BEST OF
ΣΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΥΧΙΑ! ΘΑ ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΡΕΙΣ ΓΙΑΤΙ	LUCK! YOU’LL DO FINE BECAUSE YOU
ΤΟ ΘΕΛΕΙΣ ΠΟΛΥ! +ΣΟΥ ΑΞΙΖΕΙ. ΦΙΛ	WANT IT SO MUCH! +YOU’RE WORTH IT.
ΠΟΛΛΑ ΜΕΛΛΟΥΣΑ ΣΥΝΑΔΕΡΦΕ!	MANY KIS[ses] FUTURE COLLEAGUE!

Questionnaire sample, female, 21-yr-old

The presentation of the above opening moves in text-messaging has brought to the fore the issue of their co-occurrence with other phatic elements, such as terms of address. In fact, the majority (n: 68, 71.6%) of the opening formulae identified in my sample do not appear alone, but they are accompanied by a term of address,<sup>13</sup> which conveys an affective tone in the specific context. In particular, Elisavet and Maria (case-study II) do not address each other with their real names in the opening greetings (or any other part) of their text-messages. Instead, the only term of address employed interchangeably by both participants is the word *ΑΒΑΠΗ* (misspelling of the word *αγάπη* ‘love’; see message 3). As explained by Elisavet (in one of our informal discussions), one of their common friends created the specific term (a couple of years before data collection) in order to refer to both Elisavet and her best friend, Maria, as *οι αβάπες*. As it turned out, they both liked the new word and appropriated it accordingly while talking to each other. In fact, the affective undertone of the specific term is achieved by the playful misspelling (i.e. the substitution of the Greek letter ‘Γ’

<sup>13</sup> In a similar vein, Schegloff (2002b: 333-337) and Goutsos (2001: 372) have documented the use of terms of address in the openings of telephone calls and answering machine messages respectively.

by ‘B’) in the common form of endearment, *ΑΓΑΠΗ* ‘love’. The idiosyncratic character of the term *ΑΒΑΠΗ* is evident in the fact that it can be used only by certain participants (e.g. Maria and Elisavet) to index their close and intimate friendship (cf. Sifianou, 2002: 63). Therefore, terms of address in text-messaging have a similar function to what Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998: 155) argue for telephone interactions, i.e. indicating how the participants perceive themselves and their inter-relationship.<sup>14</sup>

In sum, the analysis of my data suggests that greeting formulae, ‘how-are-you’ inquiries, and self-identification formulae function as opening moves in Greek text-messages. They can be employed alone or in combination. In fact, when they co-occur, their position in the texts has been found to follow the following sequential pattern: a greeting formula (with or without a term of address) followed by the ‘how-are-you’ inquiry (with or without a term of address) or a self-identification move (see table 5.4). Therefore, the organization of the opening sequence ‘greeting + how-are-you’ in text-messages indicates an orientation towards the order which has been suggested for openings in telephone calls (cf. Sacks, 1992).<sup>15</sup> However, it is not the case that all the messages in my sample include an opening section. The discussion of variation in the realization of openings needs to take into account other contextual parameters, such as the sequence in which each text is embedded and the participants’ relationships (cf. § 5.5.1).

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<sup>14</sup> The members of the other participant-pairs (cf. § 2.3.4) also exchange terms of address indexing their close and intimate friendship, such as the slang term *κολλητή* for ‘best friend’ between Fay and Nana, *φίλε* ‘mate’ between Kostas and Nikos (see message 2), and other slang/abusive terms of address *χαζό* ‘stupid’ employed in a jocular manner between Anna and Dimitra.

<sup>15</sup> As pointed out by Schegloff (1972), typical openings in telephone interactions orient to the following sequential order: (1) summons-answer, (2) identification, (3) greeting, and (4) ‘how-are-you’ sequence.



‘how-are-you’ (term of address)		
greeting (term of address)                      and/or                      or		
self-identification		

Table 5.4. Sequential order of opening moves

5.4.2. Body

The ‘body’ as a structural component can be realized in a number of ways varying according to the communicative purpose of the message. As mentioned in § 1.3.1, sociolinguistic studies of text-messaging have been particularly interested in exploring the themes of SMS in order to uncover the communicative purposes served by the new medium. As a result, a number of categorizations have been suggested by studies of text-messaging in German (Doering, 2002), English (Thurlow, 2003b), Greek (Mavreas, 2004), and Norwegian (Ling, 2005). The multi-functionality of SMS is manifest in the variety of categories found by the above studies and summarized in table 5.5 below.

Doering, 2002	Thurlow, 2003b	Mavreas, 2004	Ling, 2005
Contact	Informational- practical	Coordination <i>Συνεννοήσεις</i>	Coordination
Information	Informational-relational	Epistolary <i>Αλληλογραφία</i>	Grooming
Appeal	Practical arrangement	Humorous <i>Χιουμοριστικά</i>	Answers
Obligation	Social arrangement		Questions
Declaration	Phatic		Information
	Friendship maintenance		Commands or requests
	Romantic		Personal news
	Sexual		Diverse other categories
	Chain messages		

Table 5.5. Communicative purposes of SMS

However, the categorization of messages in terms of their communicative purpose ‘is admittedly [... a] slippery [area of] analysis’ (Ling, 2005: 339), since individual texts can be sent for a number of purposes, which are not always clear for the analyst to define. At the same time, the criteria employed in the above typologies are not clear cut and the categories, to a large extent, overlap. For instance, Thurlow’s (2003b: 8-10) typology of English text-messages categorizes his sample into the following nine broad categories according to the ‘primary content-theme’ of an individual message: (1) informational-practical, (2) informational-relational, (3) practical arrangement, (4) social arrangement, (5) phatic, (6) friendship maintenance, (7) romantic, (8) sexual, and (9) chain messages. The definition, though, of the above categories remains rather unclear in the specific article and distinctions like ‘practical vs. relational’ or ‘practical vs. social’ cannot be easily established on the basis of a short text.<sup>16</sup> Instead, Mavreas’ categorization (2004) is certainly less specific in terms of alluding to the topics of individual text-messages, but it is more economical and, thus, more transferable and applicable to other studies of text-messages. In particular, he suggests that the messages can be categorized into three large categories in terms of their content: a) ‘coordinations’ (‘συνεννοήσεις’), i.e. messages coordinating mundane matters of everyday life, b) ‘epistolary’ (‘αλληλογραφία’), i.e. messages that resemble traditional letters or greeting cards, and c) ‘humorous’ ‘χιουμοριστικά’, which refer to fixed messages forwarded from participant to participant (Mavreas, 2004: 466).

This categorization is of course not void of problems. First of all, messages of the third category refer to the type of ‘chain messages’. However, the humorous content is

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. Herring’s online review comments: ‘I would be inclined to combine the two informational categories into one; similarly for the two arrangement categories. I would be inclined to break ‘friendship maintenance’ into smaller categories, conversely (e.g., phatic and face management), based on the examples given’.



not a safe criterion for distinguishing these messages from the other two categories. As shown in message 6, chain messages can also have a romantic content. In fact, the criteria for identifying such messages are established in terms of their form rather than content. In other words, their form is fixed and does not change as these messages are forwarded from one mobile phone to another. As illustrated in message 6, their organization does not follow the prototypical tripartite structure of opening-body-closing. In contrast, they seem to follow a rather poetic patterning which is enhanced by the use of devices, like rhyme (cf. *EΣENA* /es-ena/ in line 2 and *MENA* /m-ena/ in line 4) and parallelism (lines 1 and 3).

Message 6 [4]

1. AN O ΘΕΟΣ KANEI ΘAYMATA	1. IF GOD MAKES MIRACLES
2. ENA EINAI OTI EKANE EΣENA,	2. YOU ARE ONE OF THEM,
3. AN O ΘΕΟΣ KANEI ΛΑΘΗ	3. IF GOD MAKES MISTAKES
4. EINAI OTI ΣΕ ΚΡΑΤΑΕΙ ΜΑΚΡΙΑ ΑΠΟ MENA!	4. KEEPING YOU AWAY FROM ME IS ONE OF THEM.

Questionnaire sample, male, 15-yr-old

Having argued that chain messages follow a different organizational pattern, I will leave them out of the current discussion of generic patterns. With regard to the rest of the messages, I will employ Mavreas' distinction between 'coordinating'<sup>17</sup> and 'epistolary' messages in order to identify individual thematic units within a text-message. In other words, the 'coordinating' or 'epistolary' content will be attributed not to text-messages as a whole but to individual thematic units within the messages. This decision is informed by the observation that these messages can have multiple communicative purposes and, thus, include diverse topics. Regarding the types of

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<sup>17</sup> The term 'coordinating' arguably represents better the kind of topics included in this category. Cf. a similar use of the term by Ling & Uttri (2002: 139-140).

thematic units, ‘epistolary’ content involves general inquiries, e.g. ‘how-are-you’ / ‘what are you doing’ questions<sup>18</sup> (see line 2 in message 7), reporting news (line 5 in message 8), e.g. about one’s health (line 3 in message 7) or the weather (line 4 in message 7), requesting information, wishes or greetings (lines 2-4 in message 8).

#### Message 7 [54]

1. ΚΟΛΛΗΤΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ	1. MY [little] BEST FRIEND
2. ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?	2. HOW ARE YOU?
3. ΑΣΕ Η ΦΙΛΕΝΑΔΑ ΣΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΙΝΑΧΟΜΕΝΗ ΧΑΛΙΑ!	3. ASE [-particle] WELL YOUR FRIEND HAS A BLOODY COLD!
4. ΕΠΙΣΗΣ ΡΙΧΝΕΙ ΚΑΡΕΚΛΕΣ!	4. IT’S POURING AS WELL!
5. ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΘ?	5. HOOW ARE YOU?
6. ΜΙΘ ΓΙΟΥ :-)	6. MISS YOU :-)

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 08/10/03 – texter: Fay, time: 16.37

#### Message 8 [46]

1. ΦΑΙΟΥΛΙ ΜΟΥ	1. MY [little] FAY
2. ΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΜΠΑΜΠΑ ΣΟΥ!	2. HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO YOUR DAD!
3. ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙ ΤΟ [sic] ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΑ	3. I WISH ALL THE BEST
4. Κ ΟΛΑ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΟΥΝ ΟΠΩΣ ΤΑ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ!	4. [a]N[d] MAY ALL COME AS HE WISHES!
5. ΕΙΔΑ ΧΘΕΣ ΤΟ ΜΩΡΑΚΙ ΜΟΥ...	5. I SAW MY [little] BABY YESTERDAY...
6. ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΗΣΩ... ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ	6. I’LL CALL YOU... [little] KISSES

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 01/09/03 – texter: Nana, time: 18.30

#### Message 9 [91]

1. ΚΑΛΑ. DEN KSERW.	1. WELL. DON’T KNOW.
2. SE PAIRNW NA TA PUME.	2. I’LL CALL YOU TO HAVE A CHAT

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 13/01/04 – texter: Anna, time: 19.06

<sup>18</sup> Although the ‘how-are-you’ inquiry is considered an opening formula, it ‘can also be interpreted literally’ (Sifianou, 2002: 63) in Greek. In fact, as suggested by Sifianou (2002: 64), it can constitute the first topic in Greek telephone conversations. This observation is further reinforced by message 7, where the specific enquiry appears twice, indicating that it is not exclusively associated with the opening of the message. In addition, advertising campaigns of mobile phone companies encourage young users to send text-messages ‘just to say how-are-you’ (Cosmote advertising brochure, November 2003). Thus, the marketing of SMS in Greece capitalizes on the phatic aspects of the new medium.



On the other hand, topics of coordination concern arrangements for future contact, e.g. on the phone (line 2 in message 9) or going out (see message 10), requests, invitations, cancelling or postponing arrangements etc. As for the sequential signals which mark the transition from one thematic unit to another, we note the use of metalinguistic expressions and discourse markers, such as *KALA* ('well') in line 1 (message 9), *AΣE* ('well') in line 3 (message 7), *ΕΠΙΣΗΣ* ('in addition') in line 4 (message 7), *ΛΟΙΠΟΝ* ('so'), etc. The above discourse markers have been found at the beginning of thematic units as introductory elements in other mediated genres as well, such as answering machine messages (cf. Goutsos, 2001: 372). At the same time, topic closure can be indicated in text-messaging by the markers *E* ('eh') and *OK* with a question mark (cf. message 10). It should be noted that such topic bounding elements are common in Greek spoken conversations, where they occur with rising intonation. Thus, we may argue that such practices infiltrate from spoken discourse into text-messaging. As a result, they add an expressive, spoken-like, tone in the new medium. In similar positions of topic closure, we also find other expressive elements, such as interjections and expressive (multiple) punctuation (see § 4.3.3).

#### Message 10 [102]

ΕΙΠΑ ΓΙΑ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ ΣΕ ΜΕΛΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΠΟΡΕΙ	I TOLD <i>MELIN</i> ABOUT TODAY AND SHE
ΜΟΝΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ.ΚΑΙ Η ΜΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΤΙΜΑ,	CAN [come along] ONLY DOWNTOWN. <i>ΜΑΤΑ</i>
ΘΕΣ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΕΙΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ΕΔΩ Κ	PREFERS IT TOO, DO YOU WANT TO COME
ΜΕΤΑ ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ ΚΑΤΕΥΘΕΙΑΝ ΕΡΜΟΥ? Ε?	OVER [here) AFTER COLLEGE [a]N[d] THEN
	GO STRAIGHT TO <i>ΕΡΜΟΥ</i> ? EH?

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 27/01/04 – texter: Dimitra, time: 12.05

5.4.3. Closing

Similar to opening, the closing part does not appear in the total of messages collected (n: 447). More specifically, closing moves have been found in 30.4 % (n: 136) of the total sample. As shown in table 5.6, the utterances counted as closings in my data fall, briefly, under the following categories: (a) a sign-off, like the affective expression *φιλάκια* ‘kisses’ or the name of the texter as a signature, (b) a call-off, such as the formulaic allusion to future interaction ‘see you’, couched either in the English abbreviated form *cu* or in the Greek equivalent expressions *να/θα τα πούμε* or *τα λέμε*, and (c) a closing greeting, such as *καληνύχτα* ‘good night’ and *γεια* ‘bye’.

CLOSING MOVES		Instances of occurrence	
		n: 170 <sup>19</sup>	%
SIGN-OFF	<i>φιλάκια</i> ‘kisses’	103	60.6
	signature	4	2.4
CALL-OFF	<i>να/θα τα πούμε</i> ‘see you’	17	10
	<i>τα λέμε</i> ‘see you’	14	8.2
	<i>cu</i>	6	3.5
GREETING	<i>καληνύχτα</i> ‘good night’	22	12.9
	<i>γεια</i> ‘bye’	4	2.4

Table 5.6. Categories and frequency of closing moves

More specifically, the analysis of my data suggests that closing moves in Greek text-messaging can be realized as:

<sup>19</sup> The discrepancy between the total instances (n: 170) of closing moves and the total number of messages (n: 136) including an opening section is due to the co-occurrence of parting formulae in individual messages (cf. footnote 10).



(a) sign-off formulae:

The majority (n: 103, 60.6%) of the closing moves found in the messages under consideration concern the affective sign-off formula ‘kisses’. The affective tone of this formula is further enhanced by the forms employed by the participants. For instance, Elisavet and Maria (case-study II) employ not only the diminutive form of the word ‘kisses’ *φιλάκια* (see message 3) but also its equivalent form in Greek baby talk *μάκια*, and the word-form created by mimicking the sound of a kiss *ΣΜΟΥΤΣ* /smouts/ (see message 11). Although this sign-off formula is reminiscent of closings in more written-like genres, like informal letter-writing, it has also been found in Greek answering machine messages (cf. Goutsos, 2001: 372).

Message 11 [122]

ΘΑ ΜΑΣ ΑΦΗΣΕΙ Κ ΕΜΑΣ ΠΑΡΑ	SHE'LL ALSO LEAVE US A QUARTER
TETAPTO!ΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΕ ΚΑΤΩ!	TO!WAIT DOWNSTAIRS!SMOUTS[kissing
ΣΜΟΥΤΣ ΑΒΑΠΗ!	sound] AVAPI!

Case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 22/01/04 – texter: Elisavet, time: 13.31

Furthermore, the practice of signing off a written message with one's name has been found among the closing moves identified in my sample. The relatively few instances (n: 4, 2.4%) of signatures in text-messaging (see the initial *Γ* at the end of message 12) are due to the fact that mobile phones are equipped with the service of ‘caller ID display’. As a result, the texter does not need to explicitly (i.e. verbally) identify herself (cf. § 5.4.1). Despite the rarity of self-identification moves in my data, we notice that users of text-messaging borrow norms from different genres in order to achieve the same task. In other words, my participants choose to identify themselves either by means of the opening formula ‘name + είμαι’ (‘this is + name’), the norm in telephone calls, or by a closing signature, the norm in epistolary writing (cf. messages

5 and 12). This finding indicates that text-messaging undergoes what Danet (2001: 363) refers to as ‘a period of normative ambiguity’. That is, the lack of established norms for interaction in the new medium makes the users juggle between the pre-existing generic expectations for an asynchronous written message and the assumptions for immediate self-identification in a (quasi-)synchronous environment.

#### Message 12 [23]

Κλειούλος!Τι κάνεις μωρή;Πού είσαι πάλι+δεν  
ακούς το κιν. σου;Πώς ήταν  
χθες;Χτυπήθηκες;!Θα πάμε σήμερα;Τι λέτε; Γ.

*Kleioulos!*How are you *mori*?Where are you  
now+you can’t hear your phone?How was it  
yesterday? Did you knock yourself out?!Are we  
going today?What do you think?G.

Questionnaire sample, female, 19-yr-old

#### (b) call-off formulae:

Formulaic allusions to future interaction represent 21.8% (n: 37) of the closing moves identified in my sample. In particular, my participants employ the spoken parting formulae *TA ΛΕΜΕ* (see message 13) and *να/θα τα πούμε* ‘see you’, which both echo the English expression ‘see you’ and are also used in closings of Greek answering machine messages (Goutsos, 2001: 371) and telephone calls (Pavlidou, 1997: 157). In addition to the Greek spoken formulae, I have noticed the use of the English abbreviated form *cu* (‘see you’) which is commonly used online (cf. Danet, 2001: 19). Therefore, similar to self-identification, formulaic allusions to future contact in text-messaging concern norms borrowed from both spoken and digital genres. As noted above, this phenomenon indicates the absence of established norms among users who struggle with the relative newness and volatility of the medium.



Message 13 [72]

ΚΑΛΩΣ!ΚΑΛΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΗ ΣΟΥ ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙ	GOOD!KEEP UP YOUR STRENGTH MY
ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ!ΤΑ ΛΕΜΕ!	[little] BEAUTY!SEE YOU[lit. talk to you]!

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 21/01/04 – texter: Fay, time: 12.24

(c) greetings:

Similar to openings, closing moves can also be realized by greetings (n: 27, 15.9%), such as *καληνύχτα* ‘good night’ (see message 14), *καλό βράδυ* ‘good evening’, *όνειρα γλυκά* ‘sweet dreams’, and parting formulae, like *γεια* or the equivalent borrowings *adios* and *bye*. Message 14 illustrates that closing greetings can be introduced by phatic particles. For example, *Αντε* (c’mon), employed as a closing marker in Greek spoken conversations (cf. Pavlidou, 1997: 149), is the most common signal for indicating closing sections in text-messaging. At the same time, multiple punctuation and smileys co-occur at the end of a text-message (cf. § 4.3.4).

Message 14 [31]

Γεια σου Χρηστο!Εκλεισε απο μπαταρια!Τι	Hi <i>Christo</i> !I run out of battery!How are you?Did
κανεις;Βγηκατε;Εγω καλα!Δεν βγηκα	you go out?I[’m] fine! I didn’t go out after all!
τελικά! Αντε καληνύχτα!	<i>Ade</i> [-particle] good night!

Questionnaire sample, male, 21-yr-old

Despite their default position at the beginning of text-messages (see §5.4.1), terms of address occasionally (n: 23, 16.9%) appear in the closing sections of the particular texts. Bearing in mind that mobile phones are not normally used by more than one person and, thus, the intended reader of the message is the owner of the phone, the act of addressing to the recipient seems rather redundant, especially in the context of a medium which does not afford for the encoding of more than 160 characters. As a result, we cannot but discount the possibility that these terms function as a summons

to the addressee. Previous studies on comparable mediated genres, such as answering machine messages (cf. Goutsos, 2001: 374-375), suggest that the act of addressing to recipient in asynchronous media is better understood as an attempt ‘at constructing a dialogic field of interaction, even in the absence of an interlocutor’. Indeed, the co-occurrence of terms of address with closing moves in text-messages has a similar effect. As shown in message 15, the incorporation of the term of address *man* after the spoken formula *TA ΛEME* ‘see you [lit. talk to you]’ makes the closing part of the specific message reminiscent of a conversational turn.

Message 15 [130]

OXI TPEΛE. EXΩ ΔIABΑΣEΙ TH MIA AΠO	NO NUTS.I’VE READ ONLY ONE OUT OF
TIS ΔΩΔEKA EPΩTHΣEΙΣ&TΩPA	THE TWELVE QUESTIONS&I M SLEEPING
KOIMAMAI!! TA ΛEME man ; )	NOW!!! SEE YOU man ; )

Case-study III, participants: Nikos and Kostas, day: 11/09/03 – texter: Nikos, time: 17.12

Moreover, the analysis of the data suggests that the closing part of an individual text-message may include more than one parting formulae. However, the relevant sequential order of the above closing moves in text-messaging cannot be easily invoked from the analysis of my sample.<sup>20</sup> Similar to Pavlidou’s (1997: 159) findings about closings in Greek telephone calls, the structure of the closing part in the messages under investigation is rather complicated. More specifically, the above parting formulae can be repeated within the same text and do not appear in a fixed orderly sequence. The more elaborate (compared to openings) closing parts of text-messages aim at indicating a sense of closure which will not be perceived by the other party as threatening as the choice to terminate abruptly the message. As argued for closings in telephone calls (cf. Laver, 1975: 230-231 in Pavlidou, 1997), alluding to

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<sup>20</sup> Pavlidou (1997: 148) refers to the examination of closing turns in Greek telephone conversations as ‘a rather messy area of analysis’.



future interactions or orienting to the addressee and her current setting mitigate the potential threat of projecting to the other party feelings of rejection by moving towards the end of a conversation or a message.

Message 16 illustrates the only regular pattern of closing sequence occurring in my sample: the sequence consisting of a formulaic call-off (alluding to future interaction), e.g. *τα λέμε / ΘΑ ΤΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ* ‘see you’, followed by the sign-off *ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ* ‘kisses’. However, the specific text does not end with this closing sequence. Instead, Maria (the texter) moves out of the closing and adds the aside *ΚΑΛΗ ΣΥΝΕΧΕΙΑ* ‘keep going’, introduced by the exclamatory *ΑΑΑ* ‘ahhh’ and ending with the, rather idiosyncratic, kissing formula *ΣΜΟΥΤΣ* ‘smack’.

#### Message 16 [119]

ΑΒΑΠΗ ΤΩΡΑ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΑ Κ ΦΕΥΓΩ!ΘΑ ΤΑ	<i>ΑΒΑΠΗ</i> I’M DONE NOW [a]N[d] HEADING
ΠΟΥΜΕ.ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ ΑΑΑ! Κ ΚΑΛΗ	OFF!SEE YOU.[little] KISSES AHHH! [a]N[d]
ΣΥΝΕΧΕΙΑ! ΣΜΟΥΤΣ	KEEP GOING! SMACK

Case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 10/01/04 – texter: Maria, time: 11.46

While the body of the message<sup>21</sup> orients to the activities of the texter, the wish added as an aside explicitly attends to the textee (i.e. Elisavet) and is offered as an expression of support to the latter’s current activity. In other words, the aside functions as a strategy which mitigates the potential face threatening act of ending the text without any reference to the other party. At the same time, the wish is highly context-specific, since it refers to the textee’s current activity, foregrounding the here-and-now of the co-participants. This preoccupation with the participants’ here-and-now has been interpreted in Greek telephone calls as an attempt ‘to show that the

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<sup>21</sup> That is, *ΑΒΑΠΗ ΤΩΡΑ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΑ Κ ΦΕΥΓΩ!* ‘Avapi I’m done now and I’m heading off’

speaker is there; that s/he is interested; and that s/he is eager to invest in the conversation, even though it is nearing an end' (Pavlidou, 1997: 160). This eagerness is expected in a synchronous medium where the co-participants indicate their mutual orientation by means of various signals, such as immediate feedback and other paralinguistic cues. However, although the current setting is not mutually shared by the users of an asynchronous medium, my participants have been found to employ the strategy of attending to each other's here-and-now. Considering that this strategy capitalizes on the assumption that the texter has some knowledge of and/or access to the textee's here-and-now, my participants show a sense of 'presence' into each other's setting. As will be argued in chapter 6, topicalising current spatio-temporal setting and ongoing activities is a common practice in text-messaging, which fosters an 'abstract' sense of co-presence among the co-participants (texter and textee).

### **5.5. Variation in the realization of the prototypical tripartite structure**

The previous sections have presented the types of utterances operating as opening, body and closing moves in text-messaging on the basis of how they are realized in my sample. However, we have noticed that not all messages include an opening and/or a closing section. As shown in figure 5.1, a full realization of the prototypical generic structure, i.e. opening-body-closing, occurs only in a small percentage of the total sample (n: 40, 8.9%). In contrast, nearly half of the messages collected (n: 216, 48.3%) consist solely of one structural part: the main body. With regard to the rest of the messages, the main body has been found to co-occur more frequently with closings (n: 96, 21.5%) rather than openings (n: 55, 12.3%).



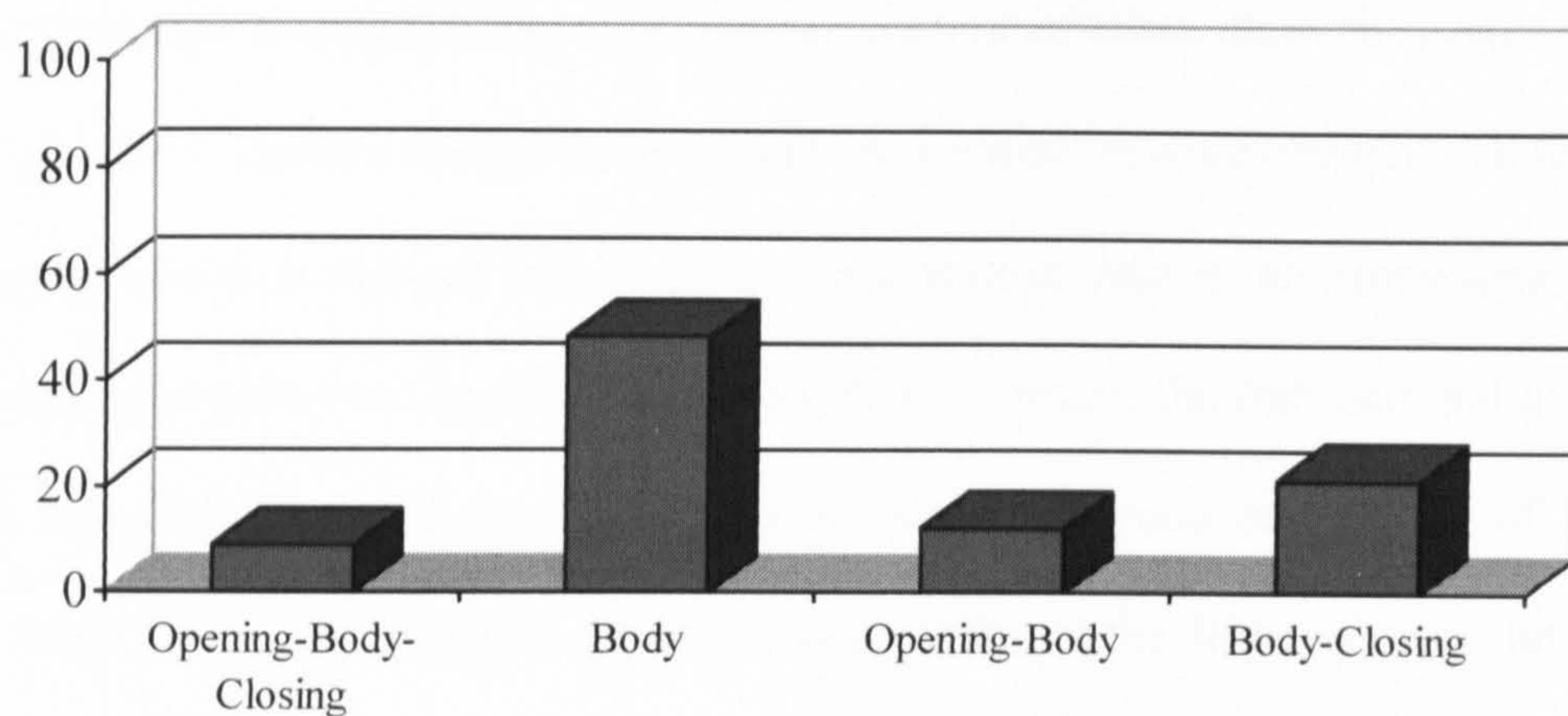


Figure 5.1. Variation in the structure of individual text-messages

Therefore, the implied sequential pattern is partly confirmed and partly disproved from the analysis of the data. In other words, 51.7% (n: 231) of the total sample provide some evidence for the existence of a tripartite sequential structure for individual text-messages. Such evidence is provided by messages that include all three parts or at least two, such as the body and one of the peripheral sections (opening and closing). On the other hand, a large sum of the data (n: 216, 48.3%) does not justify the existence of a tripartite structure, since it includes only one part, i.e. the main body. We should note, however, that the generic structure of individual texts, as theorized by Halliday & Hasan (1985), acknowledges for both optional and obligatory structural elements. In fact, the peripheral categories of opening and closing are assumed to be optional in all mediated genres, apart from telephone calls (see § 5.3 above).

An initial explanation for the absence of openings and closings in text-messaging would be that the affordances of the medium (e.g. the limited space) do not encourage the use of phatic formulae which, as suggested in literature (for the use of greeting formulae, e.g. Searle, 1969), do not contribute to the propositional content of the



message. This interpretation seems to corroborate with popular representations of text-messaging that emphasise the transactional content of these short messages. As shown in chapter 1, the newspaper articles under consideration have claimed that text-messaging represents a form of task-based communication; that is, text-messages are seen as texts oriented to the specific task at hand. As a result, the transactional goals that such tasks are assumed to serve, together with the space restrictions of the medium, may lead to the omission of phatic talk, either in the form of greetings or other formulaic exchanges. However, an interpretation limited to the role of the technological medium, along with its systemic specificities, would fall under the technological deterministic pitfall (see § 1.3.2). Therefore, my discussion of the variation documented in openings and closings of text-messages will attempt to move beyond the space limitations of the specific medium.

In order to provide an account for the variation observed at the level of textual structure, I will look at the specific texts not only as individual, de-contextualised, messages but also as turns<sup>22</sup> comprising a longer sequence of text-messages which are exchanged among specific participants sharing a specific interactional history. As a result, the following analysis will mainly focus on my case-studies (see § 2.3.3), where the messages, along with relevant contextual information, have been gathered over sustained periods of time. In short, the analysis of the specific data set suggests that the above prototypical structure varies according to participants' relationships. Focusing on the text-messages collected from one participant only, for instance Dimitra, allows the analyst to compare messages sent to different recipients. This comparison will reveal that closely related participants, such as the pairs of best

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<sup>22</sup> This conceptualization of text-messages as turns echoes an emerging thread of applying CA tools in CMC (cf. Antaki et al, 2005; Herring, 1999).



friends (*οι κολλητές/οί*) identified in § 2.3.4, dispense with elaborate openings and closings in their messages. At the same time, I will suggest that the implied pattern varies according to the message's position in the interactional sequence created by the exchange of text-messages. In fact, we rarely find closings in messages occurring at the beginning of a sequence, whereas openings are usually absent in messages appearing at the end of the sequence.

### 5.5.1. Openings in sequence

On the basis of the interactional sequences of text-messaging gathered from my case-studies (see § 2.3.3), we notice that the appearance of the opening moves varies according to the position that the message occupies in the relevant sequence. More specifically, I have found that the text-messages with a distinct opening section of the types identified in § 5.3.1 concern primarily texts which do not follow other messages. In other words, the opening part occurs in the messages which either initiate a particular interactional sequence or instigate a potential reaction/response from the other party. In the case that the other party does not take up the possibility of responding (at least in the specific medium), these messages stand alone and cannot be explored as part of a specific sequence in text-messaging.

In terms of their frequency, opening moves have been found to occur in 65 (52.8%) out of the total (n: 123) text-messages which may initiate a sequence. As shown in table 5.7, openings appear in 55 out of the 82 messages which have been followed by another text. Moreover, there are 10 text-messages with openings among the 41 texts

which have not been replied by the other party or followed up by another message from the same participant. The variety in the realisation of opening moves in this dataset cannot be attributed to the message’s position in an interactional sequence. In other words, the messages under consideration (n: 123), among which some (n: 65) include an opening part and some (n: 58) omit it altogether, occupy the same, i.e. first, position in a sequence. As a result, we will explore below how other contextual parameters may account for the presence or absence of openings in these text-messages.

Texts initiating a sequence (n: 123)	follow-up (n: 82, 66.6%)		no follow-up (n: 41: 33.3%)	
	n	%	n	%
opening (n: 65, 52.8%)	55	44.7	10	8.1
no opening (n: 58, 47.2%)	27	22	31	25.2

Table 5.7. Openings in texts initiating a sequence

On the basis of the text-messages exchanged between the participants in case-study II, openings have been found only in the messages which appear as the participants’ first attempt to contact each other on a particular day. As mentioned before (chapter 2), Elisavet and Maria interact with each other on a daily basis and through different media. More specifically, their common everyday activities, such as going to the same high school on weekdays, attending classes at the same tutoring school on Saturdays, hanging out with common friends at their neighbourhood’s cafeterias, etc. unfold in a variety of settings which encourage sustained face-to-face interaction between the specific participants. In addition, telephone calls and text-messaging provide alternative, mediated, ways for day-to-day interaction even when the two participants do not share the same settings. In other words, their daily interaction involves both



mediated conversations or text-exchanges and face-to-face encounters which are organised in relation to the participants' school and leisure activities.

In fact, the investigation of openings in text-messaging reveals that the internal structure of individual messages varies according to the position of the specific text-exchange in relation to other, face-to-face or mediated, interactions preceding (or following) the text-sequence. In particular, greetings of the type identified above (i.e. *ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ* 'good morning' and *ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ* 'hi') appear only in initial text-messages which precede any other interaction between Elisavet and Maria on a specific day. For instance, the greeting *ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ* 'good morning', accompanied by a term of address, 'opens' all the messages (n: 3) which are sent before my participants (in case-study II) meet each other at school; that is, before 08.15, the time of the morning, compulsory, school gathering. As shown in message 17, the opening greeting is included in this text that Elisavet sends to Maria at 07.44 on a Friday morning (26/09/2003).

Message 17 [115]

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΑΝ ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΕ	GOOD MORNING <i>ΑΒΑΠΗ</i> ! GET ME A
ΜΟΥ ΕΝΑ DAVIDOFF ONE!	DAVIDOFF ONE PLEASE!

case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 26/09/03 – texter: Elisavet, time: 07.44

Furthermore, openings may occur in initial messages sent on days that the school is closed. As argued above, the specific text-messages represent the participants' first attempt to establish a channel contact for interaction on that day. As shown in message 18, the text is sent on an early September morning before the official opening of the school year. The greeting *ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!* 'good morning *Avapi*' occupies the opening section of this message which concerns the first contact point between the participants. The second turn of the text *ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΝΑ ΕΧΕΙΣ ΞΥΠΝΗΣΕΙ* 'hope you are

awake' allows us to assume that Maria has not yet established any contact with her friend. Instead, she sends the message, hoping that the other party will be available, i.e. awake, and, thus, able to take up a summons for further continuation of the interaction in another medium (*ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕ ΤΗΛ. ΟΤΑΝ ΜΠΟΡΕΣΕΙΣ* 'call me when you can').

Message 18 [109]

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΝΑ ΕΧΕΙΣ  
ΞΥΠΝΗΣΕΙ... ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕ ΤΗΛ. ΟΤΑΝ  
ΜΠΟΡΕΣΕΙΣ. ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

GOOD MORNING *ΑΒΑΠΗ*!HOPE YOU ARE  
AWAKE... CALL ME WHEN YOU CAN.  
[little] KISSES

case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 02/09/03 – texter: Maria, time: 10.00

On the other hand, there are initial text-messages which do not include an opening. The absence of such greetings is also linked to the position of the specific text-exchange in relation to preceding (or following), face-to-face and mediated, interactions. As mentioned before, going to the same school provides Elisavet and Maria with an established contact frame for face-to-face interaction. In other words, they both know that they can meet each other on a school day morning. Therefore, their daily frame of contact opens when the specific participants see each other at the school yard around 08.15. Considering the initial messages sent after this time, for instance message 19 sent on a Tuesday afternoon, we notice that opening moves are omitted.

Message 19 [121]

ΣΟΥ ΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΣΗ!ΑΥΡΙΟ ΤΟ  
ΠΡΩΙ ΘΑ ΣΤΗ  
ΦΕΡΩ!ΤΥΧΕΡΗΗΗΗΗ...ΤΕΣΠΑ!ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΝΑ  
ΕΙΣΑΙ ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΑ Κ ΝΑ ΜΗΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
ΣΟΒΑΡΟ!ΑΝ ΘΕΣ ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΛ!

I WROTE THE DEDICATION [note] FOR  
YOU!!I'LL BRING IT TOMORROW  
MORNING!LUCKYYYYY...ANYWAYS!HOPE  
YOU FEEL BETTER [a]N[d] IT'S NOT  
[something] SERIOUS!CALL ME LATER IF



ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!

YOU WANT TO! [little] KISSES [to you] *AVAPI!*

case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 20/01/04 – texter: Elisavet, time: 19.00

In sum, my findings reveal that the official starting point of school, which coincides with my participants' initial meeting point on a school day, is related to the variation observed in the realisation of openings. That is, (initial) text-messages before 08.15 include the relevant structural unit, whereas texts after 08.15 omit it altogether. This finding suggests that my participants dispense with the opening section, when contact has been established on a particular day through previous interactions. In contrast, the absence of such exchanges before the activity of text-messaging results in the use of opening greetings so that the participants (re-)establish the frame of contact on the specific day. Therefore, the analysis of the data indicates that the organisation of individual text-messages is attuned to previous and/or upcoming interactions. In contrast to newspaper representations (see chapter 1) arguing that text-messaging competes with and, to some extent, replaces face-to-face contact and interaction, I have shown that the activity of text-messaging intertwines with the participants' everyday life and ongoing activities. As Thurlow (2003b: 22) argues, the study of text-messaging contributes to the revelation of how the boundaries between technologically-mediated and face-to-face communication have become blurred. Although early studies in mobile telephony (e.g. Ling & Yttri, 2002; Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002; de Gournay, 2002) have highlighted how text-messaging 'is folded into the warp and woof of life' (Katz & Aakhus, 2002b: 12), the above discussion has attempted to ground this claim not on the participants' reflexive accounts of their use of the new medium but on their micro-linguistic strategies in actual messages which have been found to co-vary with the organisation of their everyday routine.

Moreover, participants have been found to omit openings in text-messages announcing ‘breaking news’. Georgakopoulou (2004: 10) has also pointed out the use of electronic messages for ‘sharing the reported events straight away, almost as they are still unfolding’. Considering that mobile telephony enhances the opportunities for instant connectivity at all places and time, it is not rare that the topic of text-messages concerns the reporting of breaking news. For example, Maria employs text-messaging in order to report to her best friend, Elisavet, the fight that she has just had with her boyfriend (see sequence 1).

Sequence 1 [23] case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 20/09/03

Message 20 [111]

texter: Maria, time: 12.44

ΚΑΛΑ,Ε!ΕΓΙΝΕ ΧΑΜΟΣ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΝΙΚΟ. ΝΑ  
ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ ΤΗΛ;ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΝΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΕΙΣ?

*KALA E[-particle] WELL!WE’VE HAD A HELL  
OF A FIGHT WITH NIKO.CAN I CALL  
YOU?CAN YOU TALK?*

Message 21 [112]

texter: Elisavet, time: 12.46

ΕΙΜΑΙ ΚΟΜΜΩΤΗΡΙΟ Κ ΔΕΝ ΕΧΩ  
ΜΠΑΤΑΡΙΑ!

*I’M AT THE HAIRDRESSER’S [a]N[d]  
RUNNING OUT OF BATTERY!*

As shown in message 20, the text initiating sequence 1 does not include a distinct opening unit. The participant (i.e. Maria) orients to the topic of the message right at the beginning of the text. More specifically, the body of the message is introduced by the discourse marker *ΚΑΛΑ*, accompanied by the particle *Ε!* – a topic boundary expression which, according to previous studies (e.g. Goutsos, 2001), is primarily found in Greek spoken interaction. In fact, the use of the above discourse markers, along with the evaluative word choices for announcing the topic (*ΕΓΙΝΕ ΧΑΜΟΣ* ‘we’ve had a hell of a fight’), conveys the ‘breaking news’ nature of the reportable event. Within this context, the strategy of omitting the opening section functions as a foregrounding mechanism of the topic of the text and urges the co-participant to



attend first and foremost to the reportable event. At the same time, the significance of the specific event is evident not only in its dramatic announcement but also in the subsequent urgent request for immediate discussion (*NA ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ ΤΗΛ*; ‘can I call you?’). Therefore, the specific text refers back to an event which has just happened in the life of the texter and, at the same time, calls for the initiation of an upcoming telephone interaction with the textee. In other words, the ‘inter-medial nature’ (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2004: 23) of such messages is evidenced in the finding that they are interpreted against a context of shared assumptions formulated by means of previous interactional history and, at the same time, contextualize future or upcoming interactions in other media (e.g. telephone calls).

Furthermore, I argue that frequency of contact is another parameter accounting for the variation in the realisation of openings in initial text-messages. As mentioned in chapter 2, Dimitra exchanges text-messages not only with Anna but also with other members of the first group. Although Dimitra and Anna are among the pairs of very close friends that we have identified as ‘κολλητές’ (in chapter 2), Dimitra is also a very good friend of Melina and occasionally texts Nana, as well. During the period of my fieldwork, I noticed that Dimitra is more closely related to Anna and Melina. It should be noted that all three participants live relatively close to each other in the northern suburbs of Athens. This geographical proximity allows them to get together more often than with the other members of the first group. In fact, Dimitra used to appear always with either Anna or Melina in our meetings during data collection. Considering the text-messages sent from Dimitra to these individuals, openings are generally omitted in the text-exchanges between Dimitra and Anna. On the other hand, opening moves appear in messages sent from Dimitra to Melina or Nana. This

finding is illustrated in sequence 2 which concerns the exchange of texts between Dimitra and Nana in order to arrange one of their favorite activities: going shopping.

Sequence 2 [15] case-study I, participants: Nana and Dimitra, day: 21/09/03

Message 22 [85]

texter: Dimitra, time: 20.28

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΚΑ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΟΛΑ  
ΚΑΛΑ?ΛΕΜΕ ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ ΑΥΡΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΨΩΝΙΑ  
ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΜΟΥ!ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΕΣΥ?ΑΝ ΝΑΙ  
ΑΥΡΙΟ ΣΤΟ ΣΤΑΘΜΟ ΣΤΟ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΑΚΙ  
ΣΤΙΣ 11.10! ΦΙΛΙΑΑ

HI [little] NANA!HOW ARE YOU?ALL IS  
WELL?WE'RE THINKING OF GOING  
SHOPPING TOMORROW AT *ERMOU*  
[street]!CAN YOU?IF YES TOMORROW AT  
THE STATION [in] *MONASTIRAKI* AT  
11.10!KISSEES

Message 23 [86]

texter: Nana, time: 20.37

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥΛΑ ΜΟΥ!ΑΥΡΙΟ  
ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΑ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΩ Κ ΔΕΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΩ ΝΑ  
ΜΠΟΡΩ!ΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΑ ΤΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ ΕΚΕΙ!  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ...

HI MY [little] DIMITRA!I HAVE TO READ  
TOMORROW [a]N[d] I DON'T THINK I  
CAN!IF I MAKE IT, I'LL SEE YOU  
THERE![little] KISSES...

As shown in message 22, initiating sequence 2, the opening part is realized by a series of opening moves including a greeting followed by an affective term of address (*ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΚΑ* 'Hi my [little] Nana'), and the how-are-you inquiries (*ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΟΛΑ ΚΑΛΑ?* 'How are you? All is well?'). It should be noted that this overabundance of phatic elements has not been found in any of the other messages sent by Dimitra. Although Dimitra and Nana are good friends, they do not have the daily frame of contact which is established between the intimate members of the participant pairs we identified as 'κολλητές/οί'. Thus, the elaborate opening section of message 23 serves to re-establish a frame of contact which has been inactive for a long time. In other words, the opening sequence of phatic elements compensates for the previous lack of contact between the co-participants. As a result, despite the co-ordinating content of the specific text, its fully fledged, tripartite, structure, reminiscent of traditional



letters, orients to the participant's need to resume communication, or to 'catch up', after a long period of breach of contact with the other party.

Compared to openings in texts initiating a sequence (n: 65, 52.8%), the opening part is realized only in 12 (7.3%) out of the total (n: 165) messages which occur in subsequent, non-initial, positions in a sequence. The occurrence of openings in texts responding to initial messages is also related with the relationship of the co-participants. As shown in message 23 in sequence 2 above, Nana ratifies the opening greeting of the previous text with another greeting followed by an affective term of address *ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥΛΑ ΜΟΥ* 'Hi my [little] Dimitra'. Thus, the lack of frequent contact in text-messaging correlates with a tripartite sequential pattern modelled on norms of more asynchronous media, like traditional letter-writing (see § 5.3). Considering that the topic of this exchange has a more coordinating rather than epistolary character, the organization of individual texts as asynchronous messages seems to be shaped in this case by the participants' relationship and not by the topic or the a priori systemic specificities of the medium.

Furthermore, openings in non-initial text-messages are employed as a means of re-establishing the frame of contact at interactional points where one of the participants appears temporarily unavailable. This lack of availability is manifest in the textee's delay to respond to an initial message beyond the expected period of time, which, as will be shown, is approximately twenty minutes for closely related participants. As illustrated in sequence 3, the opening part is employed by Dimitra after she fails to respond to the initial 'breaking news' message (24) of her 'best friend' (*κολλητή*) Anna.

Sequence 3 [16] case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 13/01/04

Message 24 [90]

texter: Anna, time: 19.57

DEN EIMASTE KALA?PALI TO AKYRWSE  
TELEYTAIA STIGMH!DEN 8A XEI KARTA  
NA KSANAMATAYPOTHESW?DEN  
KSANAASXOLUMAI!TELOS!

I DON'T BELIEVE IT?HE CANCELLED IT AT  
THE LAST MINUTE AGAIN!SHOULD I  
THINK THAT HE S RUN OUT OF CREDIT  
AGAIN?I WON T BE BOTHERED  
AGAIN!THAT S IT!

Message 25 [91]

texter: Anna, time: 20.20

KALA.DEN KSERW.SE PAIRNW NA TA  
PUME.

WELL. I DON'T KNOW.I'LL CALL YOU TO  
TALK ABOUT IT.

Message 26 [92]

texter: Dimitra, time: 20.23

ΕΛΑ ΡΕ!ΤΩΡΑ ΠΗΡΑ ΤΟ ΜΗΝ. ΣΟΥ!ΠΑΡΕ  
ΠΑΡΕ!

*ELA RE*[-particles] HEY!I JUST GOT YOUR  
TEXT!DO CALL [me]!

More specifically, sequence 3 is initiated by message 24 announcing the 'breaking news' of a date cancelled at the last minute. The vocabulary employed for announcing and commenting on the event - i.e. the use of the adverb PALI ('again') and the repetition of the prefix KSANA-, along with its vernacular variant MATA- (equivalent to the English prefix 're') – indicates that such 'last minute' cancellations have also happened before and have been discussed by Anna and Dimitra in the past. However, the other party does not respond to this text within the next twenty minutes. Instead, the message following (25) is sent again from the same participant who decides to shift interaction into a more direct and synchronous medium, i.e. to call the other party on the phone (*SE PAIRNW NA TA PUME* 'I'll call you to talk about it'). The other party, i.e. Dimitra, finally responds with message 26, which orients to the participant's previous failure of sending a text and, at the same time, ratifies Anna's appeal for moving interaction to another medium. In particular, the specific message opens with the phatic particles *EΛΑ ΡΕ* 'hey', foregrounding the participant's current (re-)orientation to the activity, and accounts for Dimitra's failure to respond to the first message (*ΤΩΡΑ ΠΗΡΑ ΤΟ ΜΗΝ. ΣΟΥ* 'I just got your text'). This meta-pragmatic



reference to the activity of text-messaging per se indicates the participant's awareness that there has been some trouble in the expected unfolding of the specific activity. Therefore, the use of openings in subsequent, non-initial, texts is a marked choice which aims to re-establish contact at interactional points where norms of interaction in text-messaging have been challenged. The analysis of text-exchanges similar to sequence 3 suggests that the expected time lag in text-messaging among intimates does not exceed twenty minutes.

Moreover, the unmarked absence of opening greetings in the responses to initial messages, as shown in message 28, suggests that text-messaging differs from face-to-face interaction and telephone calls in terms of how greeting exchanges are ordered. Previous literature on face-to-face and telephone conversations (e.g. Schegloff and Sacks, 1973) has shown that greetings typically appear as parts of one or more adjacency pairs; that is, the initial greeting occupies the first pair part which, in turn, invites, constrains and builds the expectation for a particular type of greeting by the other party. In other words, the preferred response for the other party is to reciprocate the first part of the opening greeting exchange. In a similar vein, Duranti (2001: 214) notes that 'if we take the adjacency pair format to be a defining feature of greetings, a one-pair-part greeting – not as uncommon as one might think – would be "defective" or in need of an explanation'.

Sequence 4 [24] case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 25/09/2003

Message 27 [113]

texter: Elisavet, time: 08.11

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ?

GOOD MORNING AVAPI!WHERE ARE YOU?

Message 28 [114]

texter: Maria, time: 08.13

ΑΡΓΗΣΑ ΝΑ ΞΥΠΝΗΣΩ.ΘΑ ΕΡΘΩ ΤΗ 2Η  
ΩΡΑ.

I WOKE UP LATE.I'LL BE THERE FOR THE  
2ND [class] HOUR.

It should be noted that greeting exchanges have been primarily explored on the basis of data gathered from synchronous interactions, both mediated (i.e. phone calls) and face-to-face. Their organisation in adjacency pairs is closely related to the specific type of interaction where the second-pair-part provides a slot for immediate feedback from the other party. In other words, it can also serve as a means of indicating that the other party is on-line and engaged in interaction. Asynchronous communication, on the other hand, does not impose the same interactional needs, since the participants do not have to immediately orient to the other's words, as they unfold. In other words, users of asynchronous media do not have to synchronise their attention to the initiation of an interaction (cf. Antaki et al, 2005: 5). Therefore, the lack of an immediate ratification in text-messaging of opening greetings (i.e. omitting the second part of the adjacency pair) is also related to the asynchronous mode of interaction. Due to the medium's asynchronicity, participants can never be certain as to whether there will be a response to their message. Thus, I argue that initial text-messages, along with the first-pair-parts of any sequence included, are left 'in limbo'; at the point of sending a text, the participants have no knowledge as to when and if there will be a reaction from the receiving end. This moment of suspense creates a looser connection between the two parts of an adjacency pair. The outcome of this momentary disruption of adjacency (cf. Herring, 1999) is the participants' acceptance of – or even expectation for – the other party omitting the second-pair-part of greeting or other sequences.



### 5.5.2. Closings in sequence

The data analysis suggests that, similar to openings, the appearance of the parting formulae constituting the closings of individual texts varies according to the position that the message occupies in the text-sequence. First of all, we will explore the use of closing moves in initial text-messages (n: 123). As mentioned before, the category of ‘initial text-messages’ includes the messages that do not appear in my data corpus to follow other texts and, thus, may be regarded as initiating a potential text-sequence (or sub-sequence). In other words, these messages concern (a) texts occupying the first position in a sequence of contributions by the same or different participants (n: 82) and (b) individual texts to which there is no follow-up from either party (n: 41). With regard to the use of closings in initial text-messages, we notice that the majority of these texts (75.6%, n: 93) do not include one of the above parting formulae (see table 5.8). We could, thus, argue that the omission of such formulae in a text-message indicates the potentiality of a follow-up message either by the same participant or the other party.

Texts ‘initiating’ a sequence (n: 123)	follow-up (n: 82, 66.6%)		no follow-up (n: 41: 33.3%)	
	n	%	n	%
closing (n: 30, 24.4%)	19	15.4	11	9
no closing (n: 93, 75.6%)	63	51.2	30	24.4

Table 5.8. Closings in texts initiating a sequence

Indeed, initial text-messages without a closing part have been found to incite a response from the other party (n: 39) or give the same participant an opportunity to re-contribute to the interactional sequence (n: 24). For example, the initial message (31)

of sequence 5, which concerns the confirmation of an arrangement made earlier between Fay and Nana, does not include any of the parting formulae identified in § 5.4.3. As a result, the other party (i.e. Nana) responds immediately – that is, two minutes after the previous message was sent.

Sequence 5 [7] case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 16/10/03

Message 29 [59]

texter: Fay, time: 21.00

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ,ΙΣΧΥΕΙ Η  
ΣΥΝΑΝΤΗΣΗ?ΓΙΑΤΙ ΞΕΚΙΝΑΩ!

MY [little] BEAUTY,ARE WE UP FOR THE  
MEETING?CAUSE I M ABOUT TO LEAVE!

Message 30 [60]

texter: Nana, time: 21.02

ΝΑΙ ΙΣΧΥΕΙ ΜΠΡΟΣΤΑ ΣΤΗ  
ΣΤΑΣΗ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΝΑ  
ΒΡΕΘΟΥΜΕ!

YES WE RE MEETING AT THE  
STATION!MANY [little] KISSES TILL WE  
MEET!

The texter's expectation for the other party to reply to a message without closing is also evident in follow-up messages challenging the textee's failure to respond. In particular, sequence 6 illustrates the case of an initial message followed by another contribution from the same participant. The specific sequence is initiated by message 31, sent by Fay, while the two friends are away; i.e. Fay is in Patras for her studies (see § 2.3.4). This message updates the other party about Fay's everyday life and current activities (*ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΧΑΖΕΥΕΙ*) and ends with a request for arranging a future mediated interaction, i.e. a phone call.

Sequence 6 [8] case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 13/01/04

Message 31 [61]

texter: Fay, time: 11.01

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ!Η  
ΚΟΛΛΗΤΗ ΣΟΥ ΕΧΕΙ ΣΤΡΙΜΩΧΤΕΙ ΤΩΡΑ  
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΒΑΖΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ  
ΧΑΖΕΥΕΙ! ΚΑΠΟΙΑ ΣΤΙΓΜΗ ΘΕΛΕΙΣ ΝΑ  
ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ, ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΒΡΑΔΥ?

GOOD MORNING MY [little] BEAUTY!YOUR  
BEST FRIEND IS NOW UNDER PRESSURE  
AND [she] IS READING AND [she] IS  
FOOLING AROUND AT THE MOMENT!  
WILL WE TALK [on the phone] AT SOME



Message 32 [62]

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΓΙΑΤΙ ΔΕΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ?

POINT TODAY, TOWARDS THE EVENING?

texter: Fay, time: 17.00

MY [little] BEAUTY WHY AREN'T YOU  
ANSWERING?

The argument that the absence of a closing move indexes the texter's anticipation for a reply from the other party is evidenced in message 32 following in sequence 6. This text is sent again by the same participant (i.e. Fay) and focuses on the textee's failure to provide a response. In other words, message 32 topicalizes the other party's non-availability for contact in the specific medium by explicitly requesting an account for the lack of feedback (*ΓΙΑΤΙ ΔΕΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ* 'why aren't you responding'). Therefore, in addition to the use of openings in the textee's delayed responses as a means of re-establishing contact (see sequence 3, message 26), the occurrence of follow-up messages challenging the textee's failure to reply suggests that users of text-messaging assume the availability of the other party and, thus, expect some kind of feedback. Although the default response time in text-messaging is approximately twenty minutes, the expected time lag between subsequent messages becomes longer – that is, a couple of hours – when the co-participants, e.g. Fay and Nana, do not live in the same city. In other words, while Fay and Nana live both in Athens, their exchanges of text-messages are more synchronised, compared to the sequences gathered during the periods of Fay's staying in Patras. Once more, (a)synchronicity in text-messaging has been found to correlate less to the technological affordances of the medium per se and more to other contextual parameters, such as the geographical distance or proximity of the relevant participants.

However, the members of participant pairs, like Anna-Dimitra and Elisavet-Maria, who live close to each other and have regular daily contact (both face-to-face and

mediated), prefer not to include a closing part in their messages. In fact, the closing moves identified in § 5.4.3 are realised only in four out of the 48 texts exchanged between Anna and Dimitra. With regard to their position in a text-sequence, all four text-messages have not been found to be followed by another text. More specifically, the texts with a closing part composed by Dimitra concern her response to messages sent earlier by her friend, Anna. This is evident in sequence 7 which concerns the last exchange of messages between the specific participants on the particular day (20/01/2004).

Sequence 7 [18] case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 20/01/04

Message 33 [96]

texter: Anna, time: 19.43

EIPA ME TH MELINA NA VRESUME OLES  
THN PEMPTH MAZI!VRHKES TELIKA TO  
PASO SU XAZO?

WE SAID WITH MELINA TO GET ALL  
TOGETHER ON THURSDAY!HAVE YOU  
FOUND YOUR [student] CARD FINALLY?

Message 34 [97]

texter: Dimitra, time: 19.46

OKEIKS GIA PEMPTH!PE ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
ΠΟΥΘΕΝΑ...ΕΧΩ ΦΡΙΚΑΡΕΙ,ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΡΕΛΗ  
ΔΙΑΔΙΚΑΣΙΑ ΝΑ ΞΑΝΑΒΓΑΛΕΙΣ ΠΑΣΟ!  
ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ!

OK FOR THURSDAY!RE[-particle] [the card] IS  
NOWHERE...I M FREAKING OUT,IT S A  
PAIN TO REISSUE THE CARD! GOOD  
NIGHT!

More specifically, the closing greeting *ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ* ‘good night’ appears at the end of sequence 7, initiated earlier by Anna (message 33). However, considering that most sequences (n: 13; out of total 16) of text-messages exchanged between the specific participants end without a closing move, we suspect that the choice of this parting formula does not only serve as a means of indicating the closure of the specific exchange. As mentioned above, Anna and Dimitra interact on a daily basis through different media. Assuming that the temporal frame of their contact is organised in one-day (i.e. 24 hour) periods, I argue that the use of the closing greeting *ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ* ‘good night’ in message 34 does not only mark the end of a text-sequence, but also -



or, rather, primarily - the closure of a day's interaction. The inter-relation between the organization of text-messaging and the daily interactional routine has also been pointed out in my analysis of openings in the text-exchanges between Elisavet and Anna (see § 5.5.1). Therefore, openings and closings in text-messaging do not only serve as a means of initiating and terminating a specific exchange of text-messages, but they also – or, in some cases, primarily – operate as signals of re-establishing and/or (temporarily) suspending the daily frame of contact between close friends.

Until now, I have attempted to account for the unmarked omission of closings in texts initiating a sequence. However, closing moves in messages followed up by another text (n: 19, see table 7) are not altogether absent in my data. The realization of the closing move *ΦΙΛΙΑΑ* 'kisses' at the end of message 35 cannot be interpreted in relation to the text's position in the sequence.

Sequence 8 [15] case-study I, participants: Nana and Dimitra, day: 21/09/03

Message 35 [85]

texter: Dimitra, time: 20.28

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΚΑ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΟΛΑ  
ΚΑΛΑ?ΛΕΜΕ ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ ΑΥΡΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΨΩΝΙΑ  
ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΜΟΥ!ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΕΣΥ?ΑΝ ΝΑΙ  
ΑΥΡΙΟ ΣΤΟ ΣΤΑΘΜΟ ΣΤΟ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΑΚΙ  
ΣΤΙΣ 11.10! ΦΙΛΙΑΑ

HI [little] NANA!HOW ARE YOU?ALL IS  
WELL?WE'RE THINKING OF GOING  
SHOPPING TOMORROW AT *ERMOU*  
[street]!CAN YOU?IF YES TOMORROW AT  
THE STATION [in] *MONASTIRAKI* AT  
11.10!KISSEES

Message 36 [86]

texter: Nana, time: 20.37

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥΛΑ ΜΟΥ!ΑΥΡΙΟ  
ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΑ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΩ Κ ΔΕΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΩ ΝΑ  
ΜΠΟΡΩ!ΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΑ ΤΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ ΕΚΕΙ!  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ...

HI MY [little] DIMITRA!I HAVE TO READ  
TOMORROW [a]N[d] I DON'T THINK I  
CAN!IF I MAKE IT, I'LL SEE YOU  
THERE![little] KISSES...

Instead, I argue that the realisation of the closing part is linked to the participants' relationship and, more specifically, to their (in)frequency of contact. As mentioned in

§ 5.5.1,<sup>23</sup> the lack of frequent contact between Dimitra and Nana becomes textually evident in the elaborate opening section of message 35. The overabundance of phatic elements at the beginning of the text seeks to re-establish a frame of contact which has been inactive for a long time. In addition, the user orients to the asynchronous nature of the medium, as evidenced in the adjacency pair formulated by the same participant in message 35. In other words, Dimitra does not wait for the other party's response to her request *ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΕΣΥ?* 'can you?'. Instead, she hypothetically provides the second part of the adjacency pair herself *ΑΝ ΝΑΙ* 'if yes' and continues with the details necessary for the particular arrangement. Within this context, the realisation of the closing section is linked to the participants' lack of frequent contact which leads to a more asynchronous use of text-messaging.

However, the realization of closing sections in text-messages is also related to issues of face management. To illustrate this, I will focus on sequences 9 and 10, which concern two exchanges of messages between the same participants: Nikos and Kostas (case-study III). In fact, these sequences have taken place in two subsequent days (10-11/09/2003) and share the same topic. In other words, the initial text (37 and 39) of both sequences concerns a request from Kostas to visit his friend, Nikos, at the latter's home.

Sequence 9 [28] case-study II,  
participants: Kostas and Nikos, day: 10/09/03  
Message 37 [127] texter: Kostas, time: 16.30  
ΕΙΜΑΙ ΣΤΗ ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ ΝΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΩ?  
I'M AT SOLONOS CAN I DROP BY?

Sequence 10 [29] case-study II,  
participants: Kostas and Nikos, day: 11/09/03  
Message 39 [129] texter: Kostas, time: 17.05  
ΝΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΩ ΓΙΑ ΚΑΦΕ ΤΡΕΛΕ?ΟΥ ΟΥ!  
CAN I DROP BY FOR COFFEE NUTS?  
OO OO!

<sup>23</sup> This sequence has also been employed in my discussion of openings (see sequence 2 in § 5.5.1)



<p><u>Message 38</u> [128]    texter: Nikos, time: 16.32</p> <p>ΕΛΛ.ΘΑ ΠΘΕΙ+Η ΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ ΑΡΓΟΤΕΡΑ</p> <p>COME.KATERINA LL BE HERE LATER TOO</p>	<p><u>Message 40</u> [130]    texter: Nikos, time: 17.12</p> <p>ΟΧΙ ΤΡΕΛΕ.ΕΧΩ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΕΙ ΤΗ ΜΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΙΣ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ&amp;ΤΩΡΑ ΚΟΙΜΑΜΑΙ!! ΤΑ ΛΕΜΕ man ; )</p> <p>NO NUTS.I'VE READ ONLY ONE OUT OF THE TWELVE QUESTIONS&amp;I M SLEEPING NOW!!! SEE YOU man ; )</p>
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The difference between the two sequences lies in the uptake of the request. That is, the request is accepted on the 10<sup>th</sup> September 2003 (message 38), but it is refused on the following day (message 40). In terms of the texts' internal organisation, we also note the following difference: the closing part is omitted in the positive response (message 38), but included in the negative answer (message 40). Assuming that accepting or refusing a request can have positive or negative effects on the face of the participants, the presence or absence of closings seems to be related to issues of face management. Thus, I argue that closings in the specific context are employed in order to mitigate the potentially face-threatening act of refusing a request. The mitigating function of closing is further enhanced by the co-occurrence of other solidarity building devices, such as terms of address *man* and the emoticon ; ) (see message 40). Although the association between closings and face management has been pointed out in the literature (cf. Laver, 1975 in Pavlidou, 1997), the focus has been mainly drawn on the function of closing devices as a means for mitigating the threat of bringing an interaction to a halt. The analysis of the above sequences, though, suggests that closings in text-messaging are not necessarily associated with the act of ending the text but with the topic of the message per se. In other words, closings are employed to mitigate a topic which can be potentially face-threatening, such as the dispreferred act of rejecting an invitation. On the other hand, the absence of closings in messages at the end of a sequence indicates that participants do not necessarily experience the

closure of a text-message as a potential face threat. What seems to override this potential feeling of rejection is an underlying assumption of continual connectivity, which allows users of text-messaging to contact each other at any place and time (cf. the notion of ‘perpetual contact’ in Katz & Aakhus, 2002).

## **5.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has attempted to explore the sequential patterns of text-messages both as individual texts and as contributions to longer interactional exchanges between specific participants. The examination of individual messages has revealed that their internal structure resembles the prototypical tripartite pattern, ‘opening-body-closing’, underlying interactional and/or textual organization in other types of mediated communication, such as email (Herring 1996b; Georgakopoulou, 2001), answering machine messages (Liddicoat, 1994; Gold, 1991), letter-writing (cf. Herring, 1996b), and telephone calls (cf. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). The discussion of each structural part has focused on the types of utterances employed for their realization, their relative frequency and the sequential order of their occurrence. What is notable, though, in the analysis of Greek text-messages is the lack of norms in the new medium. This ‘normative ambiguity’ (Danet, 2001: 363) is manifest in the parallel use of norms borrowed from different, spoken, written, and computer-mediated, genres for achieving the same interactional tasks, such as self-identifying or alluding to future interaction. As mentioned for other relatively ‘new’ genres (e.g. email; Danet, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2004), users of text-messaging juggle between pre-existing generic assumptions and expectations and their challenging appropriations in a



volatile medium. The result of this juggling act is a hybrid genre manifest in the appropriation of forms and norms from interaction in different, face-to-face and mediated, environments.

However, the quantitative analysis of my sample has shown that the above tripartite structure is not always realized in text-messages. As suggested in the literature (cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1985), this ‘generic structure potential’ consists of optional elements, such as the opening and closing, and the obligatory body part. Taking into account the position of individual texts in their interactional sequence, we have noticed that the unmarked pattern of organization proceeds from initial messages, including an optional opening and a body, towards follow-up messages, consisting of a body and an optional closing (see table 5.9).

<i>initial text</i>	(opening)	body
<i>follow-up text(s)</i>	body	(closing)

Table 5.9. Organization of text-messages in a sequence

The occurrence of phatic elements in the openings and closings of text-messages suggests that these optional parts are related to the establishment and maintenance of contact between the co-participants. In fact, their realization has been found to be linked with my participants’ assumptions regarding the ‘openness’ of the channel of communication and, at the same time, the other party’s relative availability for interaction. The analysis of my data suggests that openings and closings can be omitted when users perceive the channel of contact as established and open. As shown in §§ 5.5.1-2, this frame of contact invokes a temporal organization which correlates with the everyday routine of interaction among the specific participants. For example,

the participant-pairs of close friends (*κολλητές/οί*) organize their interaction in daily frames of contact, as evident in the use of openings and closings in messages which represent the first and last point of contact respectively on a particular day. Once the channel of contact has been established either face-to-face or through mediated communication, it does not need to be invoked in the subsequent messages, because mobile telephony, and text-messaging, in particular works on the assumption of perpetual availability and contact. This drive for perpetual contact (cf. Katz & Aakhus, 2002c: 307) is evident in points where there is some breach in the normal flow of interaction and the other party appears unavailable. My participants attend to the markedness of one's unavailability either by topicalizing the issue of contact in a follow-up text or by including an opening, such as the phatic particle(s) *έλα (ρε)* 'hey' in a response which aims at re-establishing the momentarily suspended frame of contact.

Moreover, the participants' relationship has been found to be a critical factor affecting the sequential organization of text-messaging. As suggested above, the participant pairs of close friends (*κολλητές/οί*) employ openings and closings as signals for re-establishing and temporarily suspending the daily frame of contact. As long as the frame of contact remains established and, at the same time, open for interaction, the co-participants can dispense with the specific structural parts. However, this organization of text-messaging has been evidenced in the text-exchanges between very close and intimate friends, who communicate on a regular, daily, basis. On the contrary, the friends in each case-study with infrequent contact and less intimate relationship have been found to realize openings and closings in the messages that they exchange. Unlike the sequential organization suggested in table 5.9, both initial



and follow up texts exchanged among non-intimate friends exhibit the prototypical tripartite structure of ‘opening-body-closing’, reminiscent of asynchronous media, like letter-writing. In line with previous studies of sequential patterns in telephone calls (e.g. Sifianou, 2002: 77), my findings indicate that less closely related friends or those with infrequent contacts are more likely to conform to the prototypical or canonical pattern of organization in individual texts.

The third, and last, parameter which has been found to affect variation in the realization of openings and closings is the topic of the message. For instance, the participants’ urge to immediately share ‘breaking news’ has been shown to result in the omission of phatic formulae in the relevant structural parts. Furthermore, the use of closings in Greek text-messages has been demonstrated to co-occur with topics, which may be considered by the textee as face threatening. In other words, I have argued that the sequential part of closing is employed in order to mitigate potential face threatening acts, conveyed in messages sent, for instance, to reject the other party’s request. This finding suggests that the occurrence of closings in text-messaging is related to feelings of rejection which do not necessarily arise from bringing the (text-)exchange to an end, as suggested for telephone interaction (cf. Laver, 1975; Pavlidou, 1997), but primarily emanate from the face threatening topic of the message itself. Having argued that close and intimate friends conceive an established (daily) frame of contact as perpetually open in text-messaging, we understand that the very act of ending a text (or, even, an exchange) does not instantiate the closure of the contact frame. As a result, bringing a text-message to an end does not project such intense feelings of rejection as argued for the endings in telephone conversations or face-to-face interactions.

In sum, the exploration of sequential patterns in longer exchanges of subsequent messages has revealed that the realization of openings and closings in text-messaging co-varies with three major parameters: the establishment and maintenance of contact through the specific medium/channel, the identification and consolidation of the social relationships between the relevant participants (texter and textee), and the pragmatic function of the message's topic per se. These parameters invoked by the analysis of my participants' use of text-messaging provide evidence for the idea that mediated interaction orients to three 'maxims of stance', to echo Scollon (1998: 74). These 'maxims of stance' can be conceptualized as three hierarchically embedded frames, namely channel, relationship, and topic (see figure 5.2), which stem from the primary social practices through which interaction is constructed. In particular, Scollon (1998: 30) argues that

the establishment and control of the channel is taken on by all participants as their primary task, the *sine qua non* of further communication. Hierarchically subordinated to this concern is to establish and maintain the relative positioning of the participants and then, finally, only as the positioning remains out of focus to be taken for granted can the participants turn to the topic at hand – the purported reason for the discourse to take place at all.

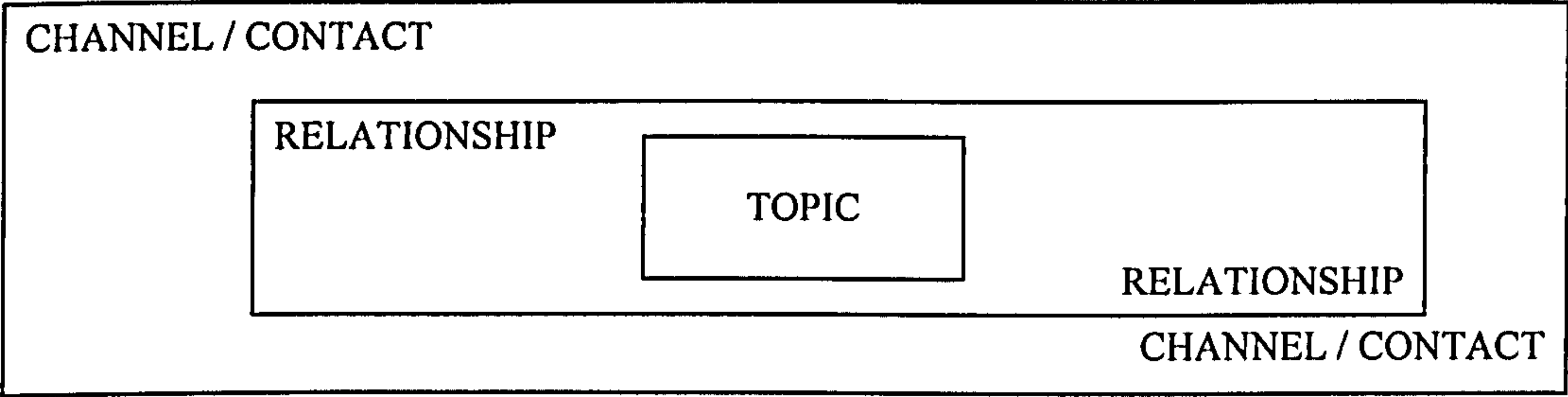


Figure 5.2. Scollon's 'maxims of stance'

The advantage of the above maxims of stance is that openings and closings are not conceived as structural parts of a postulated message schema, but they are implied by



the very notion of frame. In other words, their occurrence is not optional in the sense that the speaker may choose or not to use the specific conventions, but it follows a higher interactional order as defined by wider social practices. At the same time, my analysis suggests that these frames are applied recursively at the level of both individual texts and longer interactional sequences consisting of multiple messages. More specifically, the absence of openings and closings in text-messaging among intimate friends capitalizes on the assumption that the frames of channel and relationship are already established. As a result, my participants can attend, first and foremost, to the topic of the text-exchange by proceeding directly to the body of the text and dispensing with opening and closing routines. On the other hand, I have demonstrated that openings and closings are invoked at points where the establishment and maintenance of the above frames is challenged. For example, the use of a closing after a potentially face threatening topic re-affirms solidarity among intimate participants. In a similar vein, the occurrence of the phatic pseudo-greeting *έλα ρε* 'hey' in a delayed response signals the participant's orientation to re-establishing a temporarily suspended frame of contact.

As implicated by the above discussion of sequential organization, users of text-messaging have been found to attend to text-messages both as asynchronous texts and as quasi-synchronous contributions (or turns) to interactional sequences. As a result, we cannot establish whether text-messaging is a synchronous or an asynchronous medium on the basis of technological specificities alone. In fact, non-technological parameters, such as the participants' relationship – or, even, the geographical distance (or proximity) between the co-participants (for the case of Fay and Nana) – have been

demonstrated to play a role in whether my participants treat text-messaging as a synchronous or asynchronous genre.

However, the interpretation of the findings has also invoked the participants' cultural identities. The choices of whether and how openings and closings are realized in the messages under consideration have brought to the fore shared cultural understandings of norms of sociability. The use of affective terms of address, the abundance of phatic elements, and the occurrence of closings in order to mitigate face threatening acts signal the participants' positive politeness orientation, which has been demonstrated consistently in studies of Greek spoken, face-to-face and telephone, interaction among intimates. At the same time, previous research has established that 'giving emphasis to the here-and-now of the relationship' (Pavlidou, 1997: 160) is a culture-specific element in closings of Greek telephone conversations. Indeed, closings of text-messaging indicate the participants' preoccupation with the 'here-and-now'. As will be shown in chapter 6, aspects of the medium per se, such as immediacy of contact, constant connectivity, and high portability, further enhance the construction of a feeling of (co-)presence, which capitalizes on the participants' sense of having access to and, thus, control of each other's 'here-and-now'.



## **Chapter 6**

### **Sociability through inter-related activities**

#### **6.1. Introduction**

The analysis of sequential patterns in Greek SMS (see chapter 5) has revealed that text-messaging intertwines with other, face-to-face and mediated, interactions. For example, the realization of openings has been demonstrated to depend on whether my participants have already established the (daily) frame of contact by means of previous interactions. At the same time, closings in Greek text-messages have been found to attend to the co-participants' here-and-now by invoking aspects of each other's current setting and activities. This interaction between text-messaging and the participants' ongoing social activities will be examined further in the current chapter. A shared assumption among users of text-messaging is that the setting in which each participant sends or receives a message cannot be predicted with certainty. This lack of knowledge regarding the other's context of being and acting creates an asymmetry in communication via text-messaging. In other words, one party in interaction always has little or no information regarding the activities in which the other party is involved and the spatio-temporal context in which these activities unfold. The aim of this chapter is to investigate whether, how, and why participants orient to their current activities and the relevant spatio-temporal context in their everyday exchanges of text-messages.

Although previous studies (see § 6.3) have touched upon the issue of interlocking parallel activities in mobile telephony, the discussion has been mainly restricted to the participants' orientations to one aspect of the immediate setting, namely location. At the same time, previous researchers have focused on how such issues arise in mobile phone conversations, which is only one among an array of services afforded by mobile telephony. In fact, there has been no study (to the best of my knowledge) investigating the interaction of text-messaging with other social activities on the basis of empirically collected data.

I will attempt to explore how text-messaging interacts with simultaneously unfolding activities by looking at a common practice among users of text-messaging, i.e. the topicalization of their current location and ongoing activities in which they engage at the time of sending or receiving a message. More specifically, I will focus on the linguistic practices that my participants employ in order to orient to each other's immediate setting, such as the formulaic expressions *πού είσαι* 'where are you' and *τι κάνεις* 'what's up', and the use of place and time indexicals. Furthermore, I will attempt to show how these references to the immediate setting capitalize on the lived experience and interactional practices that my participants have accumulated through close and prolonged interaction via text-messaging or other media. The discussion will suggest that the practice of topicalizing current location and activities serves the co-ordination of other - ongoing and imminent - social activities. At the same time, I will argue that emphasis to each other's here-and-now allows the co-participants to feel 'present' in the other party's everyday life, even though they are physically distant. This mutual sense of 'co-presence at a distance' (cf. Hutchby, 2001: 85) will



be shown to be paramount for the close and intimate type of relationship that holds between the participants in my case-studies, as suggested in § 2.3.4.

## **6.2. Competing activities**

Even in visually accessible, co-present interaction, people face situations where multiple, ongoing, and often competing activities unfold at the same time. As mentioned by Schegloff (2002b), one such situation is created when a person summons another co-present individual. The act of summoning calls for a re-allocation of the addressee's attention which may orient to another ongoing activity at the specific moment of summoning. Therefore, the summoner needs to assess not only the 'priority or gravity [...] and temporal duration [...] of the activity on whose behalf the summons is done' but also 'the respective claims of the currently ongoing activity or activities' (Schegloff, 2002b: 294) in which the summoned is engaged. In other words, the summoner has to assess the appropriateness of initiating another activity, for instance some type of verbal interaction, on the basis of the situation to which she has immediate access through his/her naked senses.

On the other hand, the assessment of the appropriateness of summoning another person in mediated environments cannot draw on the same resources as in face-to-face interaction. Although the telephone opens the auditory channel and makes voices and sounds accessible to each end of the line, the summoner has no access to the other's situation prior to the act of summoning. As a result, there are more chances for the summoned to find herself in a situation where the telephone ring, i.e. the summons

for engaging in a telephone conversation, competes with - or, better, interrupts - her ongoing activity or activities.

In this respect, mobile phones do not differ greatly from traditional, landline, phones. However, it should be noted that the mobile nature of the medium per se results in a potentially infinite variety of places where the user can carry her phone handset. Considering the high portability of the device in various settings, the variety of activities in which mobile phone conversationalists may be engaged is also potentially infinite. Therefore, predicting the current activities of the other party and her immediate setting becomes for the caller (or texter) a more complicated issue in the context of mobile telephony.

In text-messaging, the users are found under similar conditions, i.e. having no access or knowledge regarding the other's immediate context. However, there is a notable difference between mobile phone calls and text-messaging; namely, the latter can be performed in a silent and instant way which does not seriously interfere with or impede actions and events unfolding in parallel with the production and/or interpretation of a message. As Kasesniemi & Rautiainen (2002: 171) point out, text-messaging can be 'the back door of communication', undertaken even at times and places where any other communication channel would be impossible or inappropriate. This is facilitated by the fact that the user does not have to withdraw physically and/or re-orient her attention for a prolonged period of time from the immediate context, as it has been argued in the literature to be the case with mobile phone conversations. For example, Licoppe & Heurtine (2002: 97-99) argue that a sudden mobile phone call can put the social context at risk



for two reasons: first, because the mobile phone user may get too absorbed in the call properly to handle or even distance him/herself politely from the current activity; second, because the call itself renders unsustainable the mutual framework of the ongoing interaction.

At the same time, compared to mobile phone calls, the act of summoning in text-messaging is more discreet and less intrusive to the other party's setting. Similar to another mobile device, namely pagers, the auditory signal in text-messaging announces the presence of a message which may potentially initiate an interactional sequence. However, the summoned does not need to immediately re-orient her attention and interrupt her current activities. Instead, she can defer to it and decide later whether she will respond to the message or not (cf. Schegloff's account for pagers, 2002b: 296). Thus, the responsibility for assessing the appropriateness of interrupting the current activity and initiating another (e.g. text-messaging) is transferred from the summoner, as shown in the case of face-to-face interaction, to the summoned.

On another note, users of text-messaging have more control over the contextual aspects they wish to disclose to the other party. This is due to the fact that participants have access only to the digital trace of the text displayed on the phone's screen. In other words, neither of the parties involved in the interaction can create a sense of the other's setting by non-textual information, such as overhearable sounds which can betray the conversationalist's context in a mobile phone conversation. In the analysis of the data which follows, we will focus more closely on how the technological affordances of the medium (see § 1.3.5) are manifested in the users' practices of orienting to current activities and the relevant spatio-temporal context in text-messaging.

### 6.3. *Where are you?: Focusing on location in telephone conversations*

In mobile communication, the geographical location of the co-participants cannot be taken for granted in the same way as might be possible in other types of mediated communication. For instance, traditional letters are posted to specific and fixed locations where the intended addressee is known to live, work, and so forth. In a similar vein, the caller in landline telephone conversations can take for granted<sup>1</sup> where the answerer is, since landline phones are fixed in specific places, such as people's houses, offices, etc. It is the potentially infinite variety of places where the user can carry her mobile device that makes location an issue in mobile communication.

However, Schegloff's (1972b) early work on locational formulations in human interaction has shown that establishing 'where-we-know-we-are' is an important interactional task mutually accomplished by co-participants in conversation. More specifically, he argues that

the selection of a location formulation requires of a speaker (and will exhibit for the hearer) an analysis of his own location and the location of his co-conversationalist(s), and of the object whose location is being formulated (if that object is not one of the co-conversationalists). (Schegloff, 1971: 100)

In a more recent paper, Schegloff (2002a: 297-298) notes that the locational inquiry 'where are you?' has occasionally appeared as part of an opening sequence before the introduction of mobile phones. In fact, his data suggest that it has been addressed by call recipients to callers indicating the co-participants ongoing orientation to an activity in progress. For instance, if a pre-scheduled meeting is the activity in progress

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<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Hutchby & Barnett (2005: 162) point out that location 'may be an issue in households with multiple phones or cordless handsets over which *room* the call-taker is in' (emphasis in the original) and, at the same time, participants may orient to the location of the answerer vis-à-vis the phone itself.



and the caller is still on her way, the answerer is expected to utter the 'where are you' inquiry even in a landline telephone conversation (Schegloff, 2002a). Therefore, what seems to be 'new' in mobile phone calls is not the participants' orientation to location per se, but the routine practice of the caller to question the answerer's location.

It is, thus, not surprising that a number of studies on mobile telephone calls (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005; Weilenmann, 2003; Laurier, 2001) have shown interest in the ways in which locational relevance is invoked in mobile phone talk. Formulating location has been argued to occur after a greeting in the opening sequence of mobile phone conversations. In particular, Laurier (2001: 9-17) explores how travelling workers shape formulations of location in mobile telephone calls depending on whether these calls are made to other mobile or fixed landline phones. In line with Schegloff above, his main assumption is that the co-participants need to accomplish some sense of shared context in order to co-ordinate specific tasks required by their professional status, i.e. nomadic/travelling workers. Within this context, 'the answerer's locational formulation', he argues, 'is setting up some kind of mutual sense of her "context" and of what may be relevant to her as an answerer in such a context' (Laurier, 2001: 17). Regarding the selection of a specific place term, the wider (sequential) context plays an important role, as relevant locational terms 'lead on from earlier events and work toward ordering what will happen next' (Laurier, 2001: 12). For example, the relevance of locational terms, employed by a commuting personnel officer in a telephone call with her personal assistant, draws on a temporal ordering (e.g. business schedule), which is already available to them, and, at the same time, indicates whether future plans need to be re-arranged.

Furthermore, Weilenmann (2003: 29) argues that in initial inquiries about one's current activity (e.g. 'what are you doing') location is invoked as an indication of the participants' availability. In particular, orienting to location has been found to correlate with other strategies that indicate the answerer's non-availability, such as giving the caller the possibility of ending the conversation, moving towards closing by alluding to future interactions, talking to co-present individuals while answering the mobile phone, etc. (Weilenmann, 2003: 29-30). However, Weilenmann's study is based solely on the analysis of specific recorded telephone conversations. As a result, her analysis misses out on any background information regarding the participants' everyday life and activities, which would be useful for the exploration of the interrelations between these conversations and other everyday interactions.

Information about location has also been found to be requested or given in relation to the participants' current activities in Hutchby & Barnett's (2005) study of sequential openings in mobile phone calls. In particular, their study (Hutchby & Barnett: 2005: 167) has revealed that the locational inquiry sequence is incorporated into mobile phone calls

as an additional element within the broader opening exchange, to accomplish the work of both (1) specifying, or formulating location [...]; and (2) establishing interactionally relevant links between present location and current activities.

More specifically, Hutchby & Barnett (2005) have found the following kinds of locational relevance in their data (i.e. opening sequences of mobile phone conversations): a) the caller may refer to the called party's location within the sequential context set up by a previous inquiry regarding the called's current activity, e.g. formulaic inquiries of the type 'what are you up to?' (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005:



164), b) the called may formulate an inquiry of the type ‘where are you’ regarding the caller’s location (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005: 165), c) the caller may report his/her current location, when relevant to the business of the call itself (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005: 165), and d) the called’s location may be readily assumed into a caller’s opening turn (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005: 167).

In sum, all the above studies have employed conversation analytic tools in their analysis of location formulations in mobile phone conversations. The volume of CA work on traditional landline telephone calls has attracted the researchers’ attention to the equivalent technology of mobile telephony, namely mobile phone calls. But, the issue of orienting to current activities and the relevant spatio-temporal context in other mobile services, such as text-messaging, has remained relatively unexplored. At the same time, the studies mentioned above have a rather restricted view of context. More specifically, their idea of context is limited to the immediate setting of each co-participant and, in particular, one aspect of this setting, namely location. However, as will be shown below, users of text-messaging orient to their current activities by invoking contextual aspects which lie beyond the immediate setting of each co-participant.

#### **6.4. Exploring ‘context’ in social interaction**

Current sociolinguistic research has drawn attention to the importance of ‘social context’ in the analysis of language and communication. However, as Goodwin & Duranti (1992: 2) point out, ‘it does not seem possible at the present time to give a

simple, precise, technical definition of context, and eventually we might have to accept that such a definition may not be possible.’ Instead, this section aims to provide a brief overview of how ‘context’ has been conceptualized in current, interactionally-oriented, trends in sociolinguistics and delineate the idea of context that underlies the analysis of my data.

In Goffman’s work, the idea of context is couched in the concept of ‘social situation’; defined as ‘an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are “present”, and similarly find them accessible to him’ (Goffman, 1972: 63). This definition of ‘situation’ is applicable to face-to-face environments where participants are co-present and mutually orient to each other’s ‘naked senses’. It is, thus, not surprising that nonverbal means of communication, such as gestures, eye gaze, body posture, etc., have received attention as well as verbal conduct in the analysis of face-to-face interaction.

Moreover, another strand of research focusing on human interaction, i.e. Conversation Analysis, has conceptualized ‘context’ with reference to the participants’ experience of the ‘here-and-now’ in interaction. More specifically, context can be invoked ‘in the ways in which interactants particularize their contributions so as to exhibit attention to the “this-one-here-and-now-for-us-at-this-point-in-it” character of the interaction’ (Schegloff, 1972b: 131). Thus, participants are assumed to share the particulars (e.g. ‘here’, ‘now’, etc.) of the occasion, or in Goffman’s terms ‘situation’, in which interaction unfolds. However, CA’s focus on the present actuality of the utterance does not only imply a sense of co-presence among co-participants but also brings



attention to the particular contextual aspects which participants make relevant at a specific point in interaction (cf. Schegloff's 'at-this-point-in-it' in the quote above).

However, text-messaging belongs to the realm of mediated communication which enables interaction between participants who are not co-present. In other words, the persons producing and interpreting a text-message do not share the same 'situation', as defined by Goffman above, and, thus, lack any possibilities for mutual monitoring according to non-verbal cues. In fact, the parties involved in text-messaging are not accessible to each other by means of their natural senses. Instead, each participant has physical access only to the technological medium which displays the textual record of a message composed or received at a given time.

In such an environment, the participants' background knowledge regarding the use of the specific medium may compensate for their lack of access to each other's immediate settings. By 'background knowledge', I refer to the users' accumulated experience from interacting with the technological medium *per se*. The experience of such practices interacts with other (previous, parallel, or anticipated) actions, performed by the co-participants over their interactional histories via the specific and other media. This aggregate of lived experience and interactional practices formulates the individual's 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1990).

In order to explore how my participants orient to their current activities and the relevant spatio-temporal context in text-messaging, I will focus on the topicalization of current activities and/or location in relation to deictic referring as a linguistic practice. Deixis will be employed as a tool which allows us to look into the contextual

aspects to which users of text-messaging orient. This analytical decision draws on the fact that the meaning of deictics<sup>2</sup> is strictly dependent upon the occasions of their use. In other words, deixis readily illustrates how the setting – at least, in terms of the ‘elementary social relations of speaker, addressee, and object, and the phenomenal context of utterance’ (Hanks, 2005: 191) – is embedded in language structure. As Hanks (2005) points out, these contextual relations - invoked by the use of deictics - support ‘our sense of co-presence, [...] and of the immediacy of the spatial-temporal world in which speech takes place.’ The exploration of deictics in text-messaging will bring to the fore the issue of how co-participants communicate these relations within a context of lack of co-presence.

The idea of looking at deictic referring as a linguistic practice draws on the work of William Hanks (2005). In order to analyze deixis from a practice perspective, Hanks (2005: 193) introduces the concept of a ‘deictic field’ as a distinctive kind of context, which ‘is composed of (1) the positions of communicative agents relative to the participant frameworks they occupy [...], (2) the positions occupied by objects of reference, and (3) the multiple dimensions whereby the former have access to the latter.’ As a result, the practice of deictic referring creates a web of social relations between agents and objects (or rather the positions of the agents and the positions of the objects) in the deictic field. The significance of the ‘deictic field’ as an analytic concept is that the social relations between the agents’ and objects’ positions may not be limited to the here and now of the utterance. This is possible, because, according to Bourdieu, ‘in a field, in contrast to most contexts individuals have trajectories, careers occupying certain (sequences of) positions’ (Hanks, 2005: 192). Thus, the notion of

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<sup>2</sup> Deictics include the grammatical categories of personal pronouns (e.g. I, you, he, they, me, mine, your etc.), demonstratives (e.g. this, that, these, etc.), temporal and spatial adverbs (such as here, there, now, then, etc.).



‘field’ allows us to have a broader view of context which moves beyond the immediate setting and incorporates memory, anticipation, and habitual engagement.

### **6.5. Juggling between parallel activities and co-ordinating mediated interaction**

As mentioned before (§ 6.2), the co-participants in face-to-face interaction may have to attend to multiple, parallel, and potentially competing activities. For instance, a summoner needs to assess the appropriateness of initiating another activity, e.g. some type of verbal interaction, on the basis of the current situation to which she has immediate access. On the other hand, assessing the appropriateness of a summons in mediated environments cannot draw on similar resources. For example, the summons itself is realized by means of technologically generated sounds, e.g. telephone ring, rather than human voice, as in face-to-face settings. At the same time, the lack of co-presence creates an environment where the summoner faces more possibilities of finding the other party unavailable for interaction. This section will investigate whether and how users of text-messaging draw on and invoke contextual aspects of their immediate setting in order to show availability or non-availability for mediated interaction. In terms of numbers, 21.7% (n: 97) out of the total number of text-messages (n: 447) have been found to be related with the issue of checking or indicating (non-)availability for mediated interaction, namely text-messaging or telephone calls.

### 6.5.1. Checking the textee's availability

In mediated environments, the summoner has relatively little (or even no) knowledge regarding the immediate setting of the other party. In text-messaging, the location of the textee, i.e. the person who receives the message, appears relevant when her availability becomes an issue in interaction. The location of the textee can be topicalised in the anecdotal inquiry 'where are you?'. Message 1 illustrates how the locational inquiry *Πού είσαι* 'where are you' becomes relevant due to the textee's non-availability.

#### Message 1 [23]

Κλειούλος! Τι κάνεις μωρή; Πού είσαι πάλι+δεν  
ακούς το κιν. σου; Πώς ήταν  
χθες; Χτυπήθηκες;! Θα πάμε σήμερα; Τι λέτε; Γ.

*Kleioulos!* How are you *mori*? Where are you  
now+you can't hear your phone? How was it  
yesterday? Did you knock yourself out?! Are we  
going today? What do you think? G.

Questionnaire sample, female, 19-yr-old

In fact, it is the textee's failure to respond to a summons in another medium, i.e. phone call, that triggers this inquiry in the specific text-message. Although we have no background information regarding the situation in which message 1 has been generated (cf. § 2.3.2), the position of the locational inquiry in the textual sequence indicates that the texter orients to the other party's location in relation to the latter's non-availability for picking up the mobile phone. In fact, the immediate location is invoked as the factor which prohibits the summoned from hearing the ringing sound *δεν ακούς το κιν. σου* 'you can't hear your phone' and, thus, from responding to the summons. Therefore, the analysis of the specific message suggests that the locational inquiry becomes relevant when one party appears unavailable for mediated



interaction. Indeed, Weilenmann (2003) has reached similar conclusions in her analysis of mobile phone call openings.

However, it should be noted that the locational inquiry in message 1 is not performed in the same medium as the initial summons. In other words, location is invoked in text-messaging in order to account for the summoned's non-availability for interaction through another service of mobile telephony, namely phone call. In fact, the user appears to draw on the common assumption that text-messaging is allowed as a silent activity even in places where mobile phone conversations are not appropriate. As a result, text-messaging is employed, here, as 'the back door of communication'; it allows for checking the other party's availability for interaction in another medium. This availability check is done in the specific example a posteriori – that is, after there has been a summoning in the other medium.

On the other hand, such availability checks are also found to precede the actual summoning for initiating interaction in another medium. For example, message 2 is exchanged between Fay and Nana before calling each other on the landline.

Message 2 [53]

TZOY TZOYKA MOY KALHMEPA! EISAI  
ΣΠΙΤΙ? NA ΠΑΡΩ?

GOODMORNING MY TZOUTZOUKA [metaph.  
'sweetie']! ARE YOU [at] HOME? CAN I CALL  
YOU?

case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 17/09/03 – texter: Fay, time: 10.46

It should be noted that the locational inquiry, here, is not of the general type *πού είσαι* 'where are you' - as noted above (see message 1) - but specifies a particular place *ΕΙΣΑΙ ΣΠΙΤΙ?* 'are you (at) home?'. In other words, Fay is interested to know not where

Nana is in general but if she is at home. Therefore, the locational inquiry becomes relevant because of the interactional task at hand. As evident in the body of the message, Fay sends the specific text in order to check whether her friend is available for engaging in a landline phone conversation *NA ΠΑΡΩ?* ‘can I call you?’. Under such circumstances, the specific location of the other party, for instance home, becomes relevant, because it will enable the co-participants to establish contact in the specific medium. Therefore, the locational inquiry is found to co-occur with the practice of checking the other party’s availability in order to initiate interaction in another medium. Considering the silent and, thus, non-intrusive nature of the particular mobile service, my data suggest that users prefer text-messaging as a medium in order to perform the interactional task of checking availability.

### **6.5.2. Indicating non-availability**

Until now, we have focused on how the user orients to the other party’s location in order to check the latter’s availability for mediated interaction. However, users of text-messaging may also invoke contextual aspects of their own current setting in order to show their non-availability for interaction. Message 4 in sequence 1 serves as an illustration of the instances found in the data. Messages 3 to 5 have been exchanged between Fay and Nana - the two, 20-yr-old, female friends from my first case-study. As mentioned before (§ 2.3.4), although they both used to live in Athens and go to the same school, Fay had to move to another city, namely Patras, because of her studies. As a result, their communication is inevitably mediated through telephone calls and text-messaging, while the two friends are away from each other. It should be



noted that the specific sequence has been exchanged while Fay is in Patras and Nana in Athens.

Sequence 1 [13] case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 17/04/04

Message 3 [78]

*texter: Fay, time: 21.14*

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΑΣΕ Η  
ΚΟΛΛΗΤΗ ΣΟΥ ΕΚΤΟΣ ΟΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙ ΣΑΝ  
ΠΕΝΤΑΧΡΟΝΟ,ΕΙΝΑΙ ΧΑΛΙΑ!ΙΧ!ΣΕ  
ΣΚΕΦΤΟΜΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ!

MY [little] BEAUTY!HOW ARE YOU?  
ASE[-particle]BESIDES ACTING LIKE A FIVE  
YEAR OLD,YOUR BEST FRIENDS IS A  
MESS!ICH[sigh sound]!I'M THINKING OF  
YOU A LOT!

Message 4 [79]

*texter: Nana, time: 22.30*

ΦΑΙΟΥΛΑΚΙ ΜΟΥ ΕΙΜΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΥΛΟ  
ΕΞΩ!ΑΥΡΙΟ ΝΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ ΣΤΟ  
ΤΗΛ.ΜΗΝ ΜΟΥ  
ΣΤΕΝΟΧΩΡΙΕΣΑΙ...ΚΟΥΡΑΓΙΟ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ  
ΠΑΡΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ...ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ Κ ΟΝΕΙΡΑ  
ΓΛΥΚΑ ;- ) ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ!

MY [little] FAY I'M OUT WITH  
PAVLOS!LET'S TALK TOMORROW ON THE  
PHONE.DON'T BE SAD...COURAGE!LOTS  
OF KISSES... GOODNIGHT AND SWEET  
DREAMS ;- ) I MISS YOU!

The sequence is initiated by Fay without any explicit reference to the co-participants' location in message 3. However, Nana reports her current location *ΕΙΜΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΥΛΟ ΕΞΩ* 'I'm out with Pavlos' immediately after the opening term of address *ΦΑΙΟΥΛΑΚΙ ΜΟΥ* 'my little Fay' in message 4. In particular, the specific turn orients to two aspects of the immediate setting; namely, the location and the other co-present individuals. However, the choice of these two, among other, contextual aspects, is not accidental. In fact, I argue that this choice underlines<sup>3</sup> the participant's non-availability for interaction. More specifically, Nana's location is invoked by the indexical *ΕΞΩ* 'out', which does not give exact information regarding the actual place. On the other hand, the particular indexical positions Nana in relation to her home.

<sup>3</sup> At the same time, it can be argued that the specific locational turn responds to Fay's turn *ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?* in message 3. As mentioned before (see footnote 18 in chapter 5), 'τι κάνεις' can be interpreted both as a 'how are you' general inquiry and/or as an inquiry regarding the other's current activity, similar to the English 'what are you up to?'.

Indeed, ‘home’ is a relevant place for the current situation (cf. message 2 above). On the basis of their interactional history, we know that Fay and Nana call each other regularly when they are away from each other and these mediated interactions concern mainly landline, rather than mobile, phone calls (obviously due to financial reasons). As a result, if Nana were at home, she would have been able to call Fay and focus on her friend’s ‘sad’ emotional state *H KOΛΗΘΗ ΣΟΥ [...] ΕΙΝΑΙ ΧΑΛΙΑ!* ‘your best friend [...] is a mess!’. Furthermore, Nana’s non-availability for interaction is further underlined by reporting that she is *ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΥΛΟ* ‘with Pavlos’, that is, with her boyfriend. A state of co-presence with an intimate individual, such as a boyfriend, can be understood in this context to limit the possibilities of initiating or sustaining parallel interactions with other persons.

At the same time, the above interpretation of the locational turn is further reinforced by the co-occurrence of multiple closing moves. First, and foremost, Nana alludes to a future interaction *ΑΥΡΙΟ ΝΑ ΜΙΑΗΣΟΥΜΕ ΣΤΟ ΤΗΛ* ‘let’s talk tomorrow on the phone’, which is a more personalized version of the formulaic *να τα πούμε* ‘see you’ (see § 5.4.3). However, this allusion becomes also relevant in the local context, since Nana actually invokes her current location in order to show her non-availability for the current interaction. Moreover, the closing of the message consists of a long sequence of moves. The suspension points at the end of the formulaic closing *ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ* ‘lots of kisses’ mark a moving out of closing which continues with a number of subsequent turns *ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ* ‘goodnight’, *ΟΝΕΙΡΑ ΓΛΥΚΑ* ‘sweet dreams’, *ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ* ‘miss you’ and the use of the emoticon. As argued in § 5.5.2, the co-occurrence of multiple closing moves and graphic choices, such as punctuation and emoticons, are employed as mitigating strategies, which, in this case, soften the face



threatening act of rejecting a parallel interaction. Fay's response to Nana's indication of non-availability is illustrated in the following message (5).

Message 5 [80]

texter: Fay, time: 22.33

ΑΧ,ΣΥΓΓΝΩΜΗ!ΝΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΕΤΕ

AH, SORRY!HAVE GOOD FUN!SAY HELLO

ΤΕΛΕΙΑ!ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΜΑΤΑ!ΘΑ ΘΕΛΑ ΠΟΛΥ

FROM ME!I WOULD REALLY LIKE TO

ΝΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ ΑΥΡΙΟ!Σ'ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ!ΚΑΙ

HAVE A CHAT TOMORROW!THANK YOU!!

ΜΕΝΑ ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ

MISS YOU TOO IMMENSELY!GOOD NIGHT

ΑΦΑΝΤΑΣΤΑ!ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΗ

AND HAVE FUN![little] KISSES

ΔΙΑΣΚΕΔΑΣΗ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

The apologies at the opening of message 5 *ΑΧ,ΣΥΓΓΝΩΜΗ!* 'ah, sorry!' indicate that Fay acknowledges the inappropriateness of her summoning. Moreover, this text exhibits an important shift in personal deixis. More specifically, the shift to second person plural in the expression *ΝΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΕΤΕ ΤΕΛΕΙΑ* 'have good fun' suggests that Fay re-positions herself in relation to the new context invoked in the previous message. In other words, she attends not only to the person who receives the message but also to the co-present individuals in the other's setting. Thus, the context of each participant does not function as the background setting in which the activity of text-messaging is performed. Instead, the setting can also become the focus in interaction, as suggested by the participants' orientation and ongoing re-positioning to each other's context.

The analysis of sequence 1 suggests that the first text-message operates as a summons in this context. In other words, a text-message is understood by users of text-messaging as a potential summons. However, text-messaging differs from face-to-face interaction in that the summoned party, rather than the summoner, assess the appropriateness of the summoning according to the current situation. In other words, the analysis of actual text-exchanges confirms the initial, theoretically-informed,

speculation that it is the textee's (i.e. the other party's) responsibility to assess the appropriateness of interrupting an ongoing activity and take up another (i.e. text-messaging) (see § 6.2). This becomes apparent in my data where the locational turns related to issues of non-availability (n: 97) appear more frequently under the form of reporting (n: 71, 73.2%), rather than inquiring (n: 26, 26.8%) location and occur primarily in texts responding to previous messages.

In order to show non-availability for interaction, users of text-messaging also invoke the current activities in which they engage at the time of sending or receiving a text-message. To illustrate this, I will employ message 6 gathered from my questionnaire sample.

#### Message 6 [35]

BPAZEI KAI XYNETAI! AΣE ME GIATI  
ΔIABAZΩ.ΘA ΣE ΠAPΩ META...

PANIC [lit. something is boiling and spilling  
out]! LEAVE ME [alone] CAUSE I'M  
READING. I'LL CALL YOU LATER...

Questionnaire sample, female, 22-yr-old

As shown in message 6, the participant's current activity ΔIABAZΩ 'I'm reading' is topicalized in order to account for her non-availability to engage in any type of mediated interaction. Although we do not know exactly what precedes the generation of this message, the turn AΣE ME, literally meaning 'leave me (alone)' suggests that this message is a response to an earlier attempt for initiating interaction.<sup>4</sup> In fact, this turn rejects any previous summoning and the topicalization of current activity is

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<sup>4</sup> Another indication that this text is sent as a response to an earlier message is provided by the opening move BPAZEI KAI XYNETAI. This expression (literally meaning 'something is boiling and spilling out') does not usually appear alone but it acts as an answer to the phatic inquiry τι γίνεται; 'what's up'. It should be noted that this adjacency pair is rather playfully employed and its relevant parts (/ti jinete/ and /vrazi ce çinete/) rhyme together.



employed, in turn, to account for the participant's non-availability for sustaining interaction. Finally, the message closes with an allusion to future interaction, which, as argued above, aims to mitigate such dispreferred responses. At the same time, suspension points also signal the texter's orientation towards a non-closure of the specific text, which pre-empts a potential re-initiation of the current exchange. In other words, the specific punctuation mark is also employed to soften the face threatening act of closing, even temporarily, the channel of communication. This finding suggests that when my participants are not available for immediate interaction, they indicate the next available slot for interaction in the same or another medium. The practice of not refusing immediate interaction without pre-empting the opening of an upcoming interaction ties in with the drive for perpetual availability and contact mentioned in chapter 5. More specifically, the participant feels accountable for not engaging in interaction and compensates for her non-availability by renewing the promise for future contact.

## **6.6. Co-ordinating imminent social arrangements**

As shown by Thurlow (2003b: 10), an important group of text-messages falls under the category of 'arrangements'. More specifically, he distinguishes between 'practical arrangements', which co-ordinate more practical and mundane aspects of everyday life, such as shopping, redirecting trips, etc and 'social arrangements', which are more explicitly recreational in character, such as going out, going to the cinema, etc (Thurlow, 2003b: 9). As acknowledged by Thurlow himself, the boundaries between these two categories are easily blurred.

In my data, I have found 92 (20.6%) text-messages exchanged in order to arrange a future meeting. The majority of this sample (n: 77, 83.7%) has been gathered through my case-studies, whereas only 15 (16.3%) of these texts are among the messages transcribed in the questionnaires. As mentioned in § 2.5, the method of data collection correlates with differences in the type of messages collected in each sample. Mundane and personal messages that aim at the organization of everyday life are less likely to be chosen for transcription in a questionnaire survey. On the other hand, the recording of everyday strings of interaction via text-messaging yields more messages exchanged for the purpose of arranging social or other events.

The act of arranging a meeting requires from the parties involved to co-ordinate their activities in space and time. In other words, displaced co-participants need to agree in advance the spatial and temporal conditions in which the meeting will take place. Popular and academic literature alike have argued that text-messaging is primarily employed for the co-ordination of everyday social and other activities. This section aims to explore whether, how, and why users of text-messaging orient to their current activities and setting in their attempt to arrange face-to-face encounters. As shown in table 6.1, text-messaging has been found to be used for the co-ordination of social activities which either unfold parallel to the activity of texting (see § 6.6.2) or will take place in the near future: later on the same day, tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow (see § 6.6.1).



TEXTS ARRANGING a FtF SOCIAL ACTIVITY		n: 92	%
simultaneous to texting		40	43.5
in the (near) future	later on the day	26	28.3
	Tomorrow	20	21.7
	the day after tomorrow	6	6.5

Table 6.1. Text-messaging and temporal organization of future arrangements

6.6.1. Arranging social activities in the near future

The act of arranging a future, face-to-face, encounter makes the dimensions of time and space relevant in interaction. In particular, the parties involved in the arrangement need to agree on a specific location and time in the future that they will meet each other. In fact, the co-participants have been found to orient to the future place and time of the meeting without any reference to the current setting or activities in 52 (56.5%) out of the total 92 ‘arranging’ text-messages (see table 6.1).

The analysis of the temporal markers found in these messages suggests that text-messaging is employed for the arrangement of face-to-face encounters which will happen in the near future. More specifically, my participants orient to meetings at some point later on the day of sending the text in 26 text-messages (see message 7). Moreover, 20 text-messages have been exchanged for the arrangement of a social activity which will take place on the following day and, thus, is marked by the temporal marker *áύριο* ‘tomorrow’. Finally, only 6 text-messages orient to an activity which will happen on a day other than today or tomorrow (see message 8). Therefore, users of text-messaging prefer to employ this medium for arranging face-to-face encounters which will occur within the forty eight hours following the moment that

the message was sent. In other words, the choice of text-messaging as a medium for arranging social activities is related to the temporal organization of such activities.

Message 7 [110]

ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΑΜΕ ΝΑ ΒΓΟΥΜΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΙΣ 10!	WE ARRANGED TO GO OUT AROUND
ΘΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΩ ΝΑ ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ ΣΤΙΣ 7:30! OK?	10! I'LL POP IN TO PICK YOU UP AT
Α! ΚΑΙ ΝΑ ΜΗΝ ΞΕΧΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΙΣ ΑΣΚΗΣΕΙΣ...	7.30? OK? AH! AND DON'T FORGET THE
THANKS ΑΒΑΠΗ!	EXERCISES... THANKS <i>AVAPI</i> !

case -study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 10/09/03 – texter: Maria, time: 17.30

Message 8 [48]

ΝΑΝΟΥΛΙΔΙ ΜΟΥ? ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ? ΛΟΙΠΟΝ	MY [little] NANA? HOW ARE YOU? <i>LOIPON</i> [-
ΤΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ ΓΥΡΩ ΣΤΙΣ	marker] SO I'LL BE WAITING FOR YOU
ΟΚΤΩ! OK? ΕΣΥ ΕΛΑ ΠΙΟ ΝΩΡΙΣ! OK? ΘΑ	AROUND EIGHT ON SUNDAY! OK? YOU
ΜΙΑΗΣΟΥΜΕ ΣΤΟ ΤΗΛ, ΤΟ ΒΡΑΔΑΚΥ?	[can] COME EARLIER! OK? WE'LL TALK ON
	THE PHONE, IN THE EVENING?

case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 02/09/03 – texter: Fay, time: 15.08

Sequence 2 illustrates the arrangement of a social activity among the members of the first group under investigation. In particular, the five female friends arrange to go shopping together at the city centre (in Athens). Sequence 2 concerns the messages exchanged between Dimitra and Nana with regard to the particular social event. As evident in the body of message 9, the specific encounter has been pre-arranged among the other members of the group. As a result, Dimitra initiates this sequence by reporting the group's intention to undertake the specific activity *ΛΕΜΕ ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ ΓΙΑ ΨΩΝΙΑ* 'we're thinking of going shopping' and specifying the future time *ΑΥΡΙΟ* 'tomorrow' and place *ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΜΟΥ* 'at Ermou street' in which the activity will take place. However, after the invitation turn *ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΕΣΥ?* 'can you', the dimensions of time and space become relevant again. Having established the future activity in question, Dimitra specifies in more detail the spatio-temporal setting *ΑΥΡΙΟ ΣΤΟ*



ΣΤΑΘΜΟ ΣΤΟ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΑΚΙ ΣΤΙΣ 11.10 ‘tomorrow at 11.10 at the station in Monastiraki’ in which the parties involved will meet up. Thus, we observe that this small text is highly informative with regard to the spatio-temporal co-ordination of a future encounter. In fact, ten out of the total twenty seven words of the text concern spatio-temporal markers.

Sequence 2 [15] case-study I, participants: Dimitra and Nana, day: 21-22/09/03

Message 9 [85]

*texter: Dimitra, time: 20.28*

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΚΑ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΟΛΑ  
ΚΑΛΑ?ΛΕΜΕ ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ ΑΥΡΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΨΩΝΙΑ  
ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΜΟΥ!ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΕΣΥ?ΑΝ ΝΑΙ  
ΑΥΡΙΟ ΣΤΟ ΣΤΑΘΜΟ ΣΤΟ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΑΚΙ  
ΣΤΙΣ 11.10! ΦΙΛΙΑΑ

HI [little] *NANA*!HOW ARE YOU?ALL IS  
WELL?WE'RE THINKING OF GOING  
SHOPPING TOMORROW AT *ERMOU*  
[street]!CAN YOU?IF YES TOMORROW AT  
THE STATION [in] *MONASTIRAKI* AT  
11.10!KISSEES

Message 10 [86]

*texter: Nana, time: 20.37*

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥΛΑ ΜΟΥ!ΑΥΡΙΟ  
ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΑ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΩ Κ ΔΕΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΩ ΝΑ  
ΜΠΟΡΩ!ΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΑ ΤΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ ΕΚΕΙ!  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ...

HI MY [little] *DIMITRA*!I HAVE TO READ  
TOMORROW [a]N[d] I DON'T THINK I  
CAN!IF I MAKE IT, I'LL SEE YOU  
THERE![little] KISSES...

Message 11 [87]

*texter: Nana, time: 10.27*

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ!ΡΕ ΣΥ ΔΕΝ ΜΠΟΡΩ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΩ  
ΓΙΑΤΙ ΔΕΝ ΘΑ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΩ ΠΟΤΕ ΤΟ  
ΔΙΑΒΑΣΜΑ!ΘΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ! ΚΑΛΑ  
ΨΩΝΙΑ... ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

GOOD MORNING!*RE*[-particle] *SY*[YOU] I  
CAN'T COME CAUSE I WILL NEVER FINISH  
MY READING!SEE YOU!HAVE FUN  
SHOPPING...[little] KISSES!

However, the messages following in the sequence index time and space in different ways. As shown in message 10, Nana repeats the temporal marker *ΑΥΡΙΟ* ‘tomorrow’ in her response, but she employs the deictic *ΕΚΕΙ* ‘there’ to invoke the future meeting place. Thus, the deictic does not refer to the current setting of any of the parties involved, but anaphorically invokes the location specified in the previous message by Dimitra. Thus, deictic referring in message 10 draws on previous discourse, namely

on a previous message sent by another participant. Furthermore, the place complement of the deictic verb of motion *ΔΕΝ ΜΠΟΡΩ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΩ* ‘I can’t come’ in message 11 is omitted. It should be noted that the specific message is sent forty three minutes before the actual meeting takes place. As a result, the deictic verb – in present tense - exophorically refers to the current or imminent setting of the other party. The above analysis of deictic referring in individual texts draws on the texts’ position in the relevant sequence (2) and other contextual information about the activity arranged. In other words, we would not be able to discuss the reference of such spatial deictics in the de-contextualized messages gathered through questionnaires. At the same time, it becomes apparent that text-messaging is deeply embedded into and, thus, difficult to be explored outside the web of previous and upcoming, mediated and face-to-face, interactions of the specific participants.

In sum, the data analysis suggests that the participants’ current setting or ongoing activities are not invoked in arranging activities in the future. Nevertheless, the ‘future’ in text-messaging does not extend beyond the forty-eight hours after the point of sending a text. Therefore, the analysis of temporal deixis in my data foregrounds the aspect of immediacy in this mode of interaction, which is invoked by my participants’ use of SMS for planning activities in the near future. The instantaneous mode of communication, reminiscent of synchronous interaction (e.g. telephone calls), becomes more prevalent in the following section, where text-messaging is employed for co-ordinating simultaneous activities.



### 6.6.2. Invoking ‘here-and-now’

Unlike texts co-ordinating future activities, text-messages concerning the arrangement of simultaneous/imminent activities (n: 40, see table 6.1) orient to the participants’ current setting. For example, messages 14 to 17 (sequence 3) are exchanged on a day (29/08/2003) that Fay and Nana are both in Athens<sup>5</sup> and have arranged to go out for coffee. The time and place of the meeting have been agreed prior to the specific exchange of text-messages. Their destination, in particular, is the coffee place ‘Da Capo’, situated in a central, posh, and trendy area of Athens (Kolonaki square).

Sequence 3 [2] case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 29/08/03

Message 12 [39]

NANOYKI MOY, ΜΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΘΗΣΑ!ΕΙΜΑΙ  
ΕΞΩ ΠΙΣΩ ΑΠ’ΤΟ 2Ο ΔΕΝΤΡΟ!ΣΕ  
ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ! ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

*texter: Fay, time: 15.12*

MY [little] NANA,I HAVE JUST SEATED  
MYSELF!I’M OUTSIDE BEHIND THE 2ND  
TREE!I’M WAITING FOR YOU![little]  
KISSES!

Message 13 [40]

NANOYKA ΕΙΜΑΙ ΕΞΩ ΑΠ’ΤΟ ΝΤΑΚΑΠΟ  
ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ!

*texter: Fay, time: 15.33*

MY [little] NANA I’M OUTSIDE DACAPO  
AND WAITING FOR YOU!

Message 14 [41]

ΦΑΙΗ ΜΟΥ ΣΕ ΚΑΝΕΝΑ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟ ΘΑ  
ΕΙΜΑΙ ΕΚΕΙ!ΣΥΓΓΝΩΜΗ ΠΟΥ ΑΡΓΩ!

*texter: Nana, time: 15.34*

MY FAY I’LL BE THERE IN FIFTEEN  
[minutes]!SORRY FOR BEING LATE!

Message 15 [42]

ΟΚ!ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ!

*texter: Fay, time: 15.35*

OK!I’M WAITING FOR YOU!

In the first message of the exchange (that is, message 12), Fay reports that she is *ΕΞΩ ΠΙΣΩ ΑΠ’ΤΟ 2Ο ΔΕΝΤΡΟ* ‘outside behind the second tree’. In other words, the current

<sup>5</sup> As mentioned in § 2.3.4, at the period of data collection, Fay and Nana do not see each other as frequently as they used to, because Fay had to move from Athens to Patras in order to attend her university course. However, when Fay is in Athens – especially, during the holiday season or other school breaks – they try to spend time together. In fact, ‘going out for coffee’ is one of their favourite pastimes.

location of the person producing the message is topicalized; occupying a separate turn which consists of the verb 'είμαι' ('to be') followed by markers of location. In terms of its sequential position, the specific locational reference follows the reporting of an immediate past activity *ΜΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΘΗΣΑ* 'I have just seated myself' and precedes a reference to the current – and immediate future – activity *ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ* 'I'm waiting for you'. We observe, then, that the participant orients to location within the sequential context of reporting current activities. In addition, it should be noted that the specific activities, i.e. sitting and waiting, are reported without any reference as to where they are actually taking place. In fact, the information omitted is provided by the topicalized location; establishing, thus, a direct link between present location and current activities. Furthermore, looking more closely to the locational markers employed, we notice that the place is not explicitly specified. In fact, Fay capitalizes on previous shared knowledge regarding the topography of the specific café in order to navigate her friend through space.

However, the place reference *ΝΤΑΚΑΠΟ* 'DaCapo', which has been omitted in the previous message, appears in message 13, sent by the same participant twenty one minutes after message 12. Although the locational term may function as a reconfirmation of the arrangements agreed on the previous day, in the specific context it is related to the absence of any response by the other party, i.e. Nana. Delay in response time indicates some trouble in interaction. As a result, the referential indexical, i.e. the name of the café, is included in the message in order to pre-empt any misunderstandings.



A similar use of locational formulations to co-ordinate imminent activities is evidenced in message 16. After the opening sequence of message 16, consisting of the greeting *ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΓΙΩΤΟΥΛΑ!* ‘Goodmorning little Giota’ and the self-identification turn *Ο ΝΤΕΝΗΣ ΕΙΜΑΙ*. ‘I’m Dennis’, we find a locational formulation orienting to the context of the sender. In particular, the composer of the text provides information regarding his location *ΕΙΜΑΙ ... PASSAGIO* ‘I’m ... at Passagio’ and the other persons *ΜΕ ΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ* ‘with the guys’ who are co-present at the specific place. The immediate (situational) context of the sender becomes relevant because of the specific interactional task which this message aims to accomplish, i.e. arranging an imminent activity. In other words, the locational turn sets up the contextual ground on which the invitation *ΘΑ ΚΑΤΕΒΕΙΣ;* ‘will you come down here?’, which occupies the body of the message, is to be interpreted. The link between the locational reference and the act of inviting the addressee is further evidenced in the omission of the place complement next to the deictic verb of motion (‘κατεβαίνω’, literally meaning ‘descend’).

Message 16 [16]

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΓΙΩΤΟΥΛΑ!Ο ΝΤΕΝΗΣ	GOOD MORNING [little] GIOTA!I’M
ΕΙΜΑΙ.ΕΙΜΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ PASSAGIO.ΘΑ	DENNIS.I’M AT PASSAGIO WITH THE
ΚΑΤΕΒΕΙΣ;	GUYS.WILL YOU COME DOWN HERE?

Questionnaire sample, male, 16-yr-old

However, the topicalization of current location in such arrangements has also got implications for the temporal co-ordination of the specific activity. The planning of the future activity is closely related to and, more importantly, conditioned by the here and now of the co-participants. Once the spatio-temporal context of the participants changes, the current plans will no longer be valid. Therefore, topicalizing the current location, which is at any moment subject to change and, thus, ephemeral, allows for

planning of only imminent actions and activities. The choice of the place term indicates that the two parties share the same interactional resources. By quoting just a name, both parties know what this place is (e.g. a café) and where it is. For a non-member (e.g. the analyst) this kind of information does not suffice for interpreting the message. The shared interactional history allows the co-participants to allude to space without detailed specification. This practice confirms and reinforces their close relationship.

Although the ubiquity of the locational inquiry “where are you?” in mobile telephony has been suggested both in the academic and popular literature, in my data inquiries regarding the location of the other party appear only in 12 (2.7%) out of the 447 text-messages. In § 6.5.1, we have explored the case where the locational inquiry is employed in order to check availability for mediated interaction. The following examples indicate how the same locational inquiry can be relevant in arranging a face-to-face encounter.

There are three instances in my data (messages 17, 19, and 20) where the locational inquiry ‘where are you?’ occupies the text’s body and appears as the only topic of the message. All three messages have been exchanged between Elisavet and Maria, the two 16-yr-old female participants in the second case-study. As mentioned before (see § 2.3.4), the specific participants live in the same neighbourhood, go to the same high school, attend the same after-school tutoring classes, and prepare themselves for the national entry examinations to the Greek university. As a result, their everyday life is structured around such common activities (i.e. going to school, studying, etc). At the same time, their everyday contact is inevitably spatio-temporally organised in relation



to these activities. For instance, attending the same class in the same high school establishes a specific spatio-temporal frame of co-presence for Elisavet and Maria. As will be shown, the locational inquiry is topicalised in text-messaging when one of the participants fails to appear according to such established frames of contact.

Messages 17 and 18 have been exchanged between Elisavet and Maria on a morning school day, when both of them ought to be at school. That morning Maria is not present in the school's yard. Within this context, Elisavet sends message 17 in which the inquiry regarding Maria's current location *ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ?* 'where are you?' is topicalised after the opening section *ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!* 'goodmorning *Avapi*'. In fact, the locational inquiry becomes the topic of the message, because Maria is not where she ought to be, i.e. in the school yard with her friend, Elisavet. Thus, the specific inquiry does not only orient to the current location of the textee but it also invokes her absence from the current location of the texter (i.e. Elisavet). According to the organization of their shared everyday (school) life, this absence is unexpected and marked. Since the habitual frame of co-presence at school fails to be established, the 'where-are-you' message is sent as an attempt to re-construct some sense of each other's context at the specific time.

Sequence 4 [24] case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 25/09/03

Message 17 [113]

*texter: Elisavet, time: 08.11*

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ?

GOOD MORNING *AVAPI*!WHERE ARE YOU?

Message 18 [114]

*texter: Maria, time: 08.13*

ΑΡΓΗΣΑ ΝΑ ΞΥΠΝΗΣΩ.ΘΑ ΕΡΘΩ ΤΗ 2Η  
ΩΡΑ.

I WOKE UP LATE.I'LL BE THERE FOR THE  
2ND [class] HOUR.

However, Maria's response (message 18) to the locational inquiry does not provide an explicit formulation of her current location (i.e. home). The current location is, rather, implied in her account *ΑΡΓΗΣΑ ΝΑ ΞΥΠΝΗΣΩ* 'I woke up late'. Furthermore, the deictic verb of motion *ΘΑ ΕΡΘΩ* 'I'll come/be there' in the same message indexes the current location of the textee, i.e. Elisavet. Therefore, the location to which Maria orients in her message is not the place where she is at the moment, i.e. home, but rather the place where she ought to have been, i.e. school. This response suggests that the locational inquiry *ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ?* 'where are you?' is interpreted, here, not only as 'where are you?' but also as 'why are you not here?'. This is obvious in Maria's message which provides an account of why she has failed to be co-present with Elisavet at school and alludes to a point in the future *ΤΗ 2Η ΩΡΑ* ('the second (class) hour') when the habitual frame of co-presence at school will be re-established. Thus, text-messaging is employed as a mode which allows participants to reassess the current situation while they are not co-present and at moments where the habitual organisation of their everyday life is troubled.

A similar use of the locational inquiry *ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ* 'where are you' is found in messages 19 and 20, which have been exchanged between the same participants but on a different occasion. As mentioned before, apart from going to the same school, Elisavet and Maria attend the same tutoring classes that prepare them for the national entry examinations to the Greek university. These classes are given in private establishments and have a fixed time schedule spanning over the students' after school hours and weekend days. As a result, these tutoring classes constitute for the specific participants another spatio-temporally structured frame which allows for co-present contact and interaction.



Message 19 [118]

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ;

GOOD MORNING AVAPI! WHERE ARE YOU?

case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 10/01/04 – texter: Elisavet, time: 10.31

Message 20

ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ;

WHERE ARE YOU?

case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 17/01/04 – texter: Maria, time: 10.37

Both messages 19 and 20 have been sent on a Saturday morning; message 19 on Saturday, 10/01/2004 and message 20 on the following Saturday, 17/01/2004. According to my fieldnotes, Elisavet and Maria have agreed to meet each other around 10.30 every Saturday – that is, before the beginning of their course – outside the building of the tutoring “school”. The inquiry regarding the other’s current location becomes the topic of text-messaging when the other party, i.e. Maria in message 19 and Elisavet in message 20, fails to present herself at the place and time arranged by their habitual practice of getting together. The absence of any response to these messages in my data suggests that the interaction between the participants might have shifted to another medium. That is, the other party may have appeared in person soon after the message has been sent or she may have responded with a phone call, rather than with a message.

To sum up, it has been demonstrated that the practice of topicalizing the current setting is intimately linked with the act of arranging imminent or simultaneous activities via SMS. In particular, the co-ordination of such activities is closely related and, at the same time, conditioned to the participants’ ‘here-and-now’. As a result, the ephemeral nature of such arrangements is evident in the fact that the planning is not fixed but subject to the changes in the participants’ setting. In addition, the data

analysis has revealed that locational references capitalize on the participants' habitual engagement with people, places and activities which are part of their everyday routine.

### 6.7. Current activities embedded in 'catching up' messages

The practice of topicalizing the co-participants' current activities has been found to occur in text-messages (n: 94, 21%) exchanged in order to report everyday events and activities. Users of text-messaging exchange such texts in order to keep in touch and fulfil the relational work of 'catching up' with news and events occurring in one's daily life. As a result, 'catching up' messages provide the other party with a snapshot of the texter's life, which is presented along a continuum ranging from reports of events having taken place in the past and current ongoing activities to projections of future plans. As mentioned for similar electronic messages, 'the whole catching up activity seems to be modelled on letter-writing' (Georgakopoulou, 2004: 6). Indeed, the 'epistolary' character of such text-messages is also evident in their internal organization, which orients to the realization of all three structural parts, opening-body-closing (see § 5.4), reminiscent of traditional letters.

Message 21, gathered from my questionnaire sample, illustrates the topicalization of current ongoing activities in catching up text-messages. In terms of structure, we notice that the body of the text is preceded by the opening pseudo-greeting *EAA* 'hey', accompanied by the term of address *KOITEAA MOY* 'my girl', and it is followed by the formulaic closing *ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ* ' (little) kisses'.



Message 21 [24]

ΕΛΑ ΚΟΠΕΛΑ ΜΟΥ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ ΜΠΡΙ!ΠΩΣ	HEY MY GIRL!HOW ARE YOU <i>bri</i> <sup>6</sup> [-particle]!
ΠΕΡΝΑΣ;ΤΑ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ,ΤΑ ΙΣΠΑΝΙΚΑ,Ο	HOW IS IT GOING?[How about] THE
ΧΟΡΟΣ..;ΕΓΩ ΜΙΑ ΧΑΡΑ!ΕΔΩΣΑ 2	CLASSES,THE SPANISH,THE DANCE..?I'M
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΣΤΟ 1 ΚΟΠΗΚΑ+ ΤΟ ΑΛΛΟ	FINE!I SAT TWO PAPERS I FLUNKED THE
ΘΑ ΤΟ ΔΩ ΑΥΡΙΟ!ΤΩΡΑ ΚΑΘΟΜΑΙ+	ONE+ I LL SEE ABOUT THE OTHER
ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ Ν ΑΡΧΙΣΟΥΜΕ :) ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ	TOMORROW!NOW I M SITTING+ WAITING
	TO START :) [little] KISSES

Questionnaire sample, female, 19-yr-old

Furthermore, the main body of the text is separated into two distinct parts by multiple punctuation, i.e. two dots and a question mark [...], and a shift in personal deixis. The first part *ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ ΜΠΡΙ! ΠΩΣ ΠΕΡΝΑΣ; ΤΑ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ, ΤΑ ΙΣΠΑΝΙΚΑ, Ο ΧΟΡΟΣ..*; ‘how are you *bri*[-particle]? How is it going? (How about) the classes, the Spanish, the dance..?’ orients to the addressee and consists of a sequence of inquiries regarding his/her status. More specifically, the composer of the text begins with the more general ‘how-are-you’ inquiry *ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ ΜΠΡΙ*, moves to the equally formulaic inquiry *ΠΩΣ ΠΕΡΝΑΣ* ‘how is it going’, and completes the sequence by requesting news regarding specific activities of the addressee, e.g. *ΤΑ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ, ΤΑ ΙΣΠΑΝΙΚΑ, Ο ΧΟΡΟΣ..*; (that is, ‘the courses at the university’, ‘the Spanish course’, ‘the dancing lessons’). This sequence which climaxes into an inquiry regarding the addressee’s specific activities indicates that the sender has enough background information on the basis of which she can assume how her friend spends his/her time.

A shift in personal deixis *ΕΓΩ* ‘I’ demarcates the second part of the body message which orients to the person who composes and sends the text. This part is introduced

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<sup>6</sup> I assume that *ΜΠΡΙ* ‘*bri*’ is a rather playful and slang form of the spoken particle *βρε* ‘*vre*’.

by the formulaic *ΜΙΑ ΧΑΡΑ!* ‘I’m fine’, which typically comes as the second turn of a conversational ‘how-are-you’ sequence. In turn, the sender reports a series of activities which occurred in the past *ΕΔΩΣΑ 2 ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΣΤΟ 1 ΚΟΠΗΚΑ* ‘I sat two papers I flunked the one’ or will take place in the future *ΤΟ ΑΛΛΟ ΘΑ ΤΟ ΔΩ ΑΥΡΙΟ* ‘I’ll see about the other tomorrow’. A shift in temporal deixis, marked by the indexical *ΤΩΡΑ* ‘now’, results in the foregrounding of the sender’s current activity *ΚΑΘΟΜΑΙ+ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ Ν ΑΡΧΙΣΟΥΜΕ* ‘I’m sitting and waiting to start’. Although we do not find any explicit locational reference, it is the nature of the activity reported that makes the contextual aspect of space relevant in this text. More specifically, location is implied by the verb *ΚΑΘΟΜΑΙ* ‘sitting’ which indicates position even in the absence of an explicit place complement. The omission of any locational reference in this context suggests that the textee has some sense of the texter’s location at the time of message production. At the same time, we can speculate that the other party also knows what the texter is about to start doing, since there is no reference in the text regarding the immediate future activity. Therefore, previous interactions between the specific persons have resulted in the creation of shared background information regarding the activities of each party. It is on the basis of the co-participants’ shared knowledge and assumptions that location can be invoked even when it is not explicitly referred to in the text.

The analysis of my sample, gathered from the case-studies, reveals that ‘catching up’ messages represent the main type of texts exchanged between Fay and Nana during the periods that Fay moves to Patras in order to attend her university courses. While the two friends are away, the exchange of short texts reporting events and activities on an almost daily basis allows them to keep track of each other’s everyday life. This



constant update of what is happening in one's life operates as a means of re-establishing contact at regular intervals, on one hand, and of sustaining their close and intimate relationship, on the other. As shown in message 22, 'catching up' messages do not only report events that have just happened, but they also refer to the current setting and the texter's activities unfolding parallel to texting.

Message 22 [51]

NANOYKAAAAA MOY!ΣΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΑ ΠΗΓΑ	MY [little] NANAAAAA!TODAY I DID FINE
ΚΑΛΑ!ΜΠΟΡΕΙ ΝΑ ΕΧΩ ΓΡΑΨΕΙ ΓΙΑ	[in the exams]!I MAY GET AN A!I'M HAVING
ΔΕΚΑ!ΕΙΜΑΙ ΓΙΑ ΚΑΦΕ ΤΩΡΑ ΜΕ... ΚΑΙ ΤΙ	A COFFEE NOW WITH... AND WHAT AM I
ΘΑ ΦΑΩ?ΚΕΙΚ ΣΟΚΟΛΑΤΑΑΣ!ΚΑΙ ΘΑ	ABOUT TO EAT?CHOCOLATE
ΦΑΩ ΚΑΙ ΜΠΟΥΚΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΣΕΝΑ! :-)	CAAAKE!AND I'LL HAVE A BITE FOR YOU
	TOO! :-)

case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 08/09/03 – *texter: Fay, time: 18.51*

The practice of topicalizing current activities is linguistically marked by the temporal indexical *ΤΩΡΑ* 'now' in the above text (22). At the same time, the relation of the previous or upcoming reported activities to the present depends on the frequency of contact between the co-participants. For instance, the past activity reported in the specific message *ΣΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΑ ΠΗΓΑ ΚΑΛΑ* 'today I did fine [in the exams]' refers to an event which happened on the day that the text was sent but some time before that. If the communication of the specific participants was not organized on a daily basis, the point of reference to a previous activity might have been more distanced in the past. As for the personal deixis of this message, it is worth noting that the whole message is written on the first person singular, orienting, thus, to the texter. However, leaving aside the opening term of address, the textee/addressee is indexed by the very last word of the message *ΓΙΑ ΣΕΝΑ* 'for you'. Taking into account also the content of the message, we realize that this pronominal reference incorporates the addressee not only

into the text but also into the current setting of the texter. Thus, text-messaging allows individuals who are not physically co-present to have access to each other's setting and, thus, attend to each other as if they were ratified participants in the specific context.

### 6.8. Being (co-)present and texting

In text-messaging, a specific message is not produced and interpreted in a situation of co-presence. In other words, the two parties involved in text-messaging (i.e. the “texter” and the “textee”, as suggested in chapter 2) do not share the same spatio-temporal context as in face-to-face communication. In fact, the issue of lack of co-presence is a recurrent theme in chain text-messages. As mentioned before, chain messages concern texts which are exchanged among users of text-messaging without any alteration in their form or content. In other words, these messages are not tailored to the specific context of their occurrence. In addition, Kasesniemi & Rautiainen (2002: 179) have argued that chain messages are an expression of a collective text-messaging culture. It is, thus, not surprising that the issue of lack of co-presence, tied to the technological conditions of text-messaging, appears recurrently in such messages. More specifically, this type of text-messages focuses on the physical distance between the co-participants (cf. *Η ΓΗ ΠΟΥ ΠΑΤΑΜΕ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΗ* ‘the land we’re standing on is distant’ in message 23 and *ΣΕ ΚΡΑΤΑΕΙ ΜΑΚΡΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΜΕΝΑ* ‘keeping you away from me’ in message 24). However, text-messaging is employed as a means of bringing the two displaced individuals closer by creating a sense of co-presence. As shown in message 23, text-messaging opens a channel of communication which



allows co-participants to invoke shared aspects of their current setting; for instance the sky (cf. *Ο ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ ΠΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΚΡΥΖΟΥΜΕ Ο ΙΔΙΟΣ* ‘the sky we’re looking at is the same’). Capitalizing on such shared aspects is employed as a practice in order to create some shared sense of co-presence.

Message 23 [27]

Η ΓΗ ΠΟΥ ΠΑΤΑΜΕ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΗ, ΜΑ Ο  
ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ ΠΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΚΡΥΖΟΥΜΕ Ο ΙΔΙΟΣ!  
ΓΙ’ΑΥΤΟ ΚΟΙΤΑ ΨΗΛΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟ ΚΙ  
ΕΓΩ ΑΠΟ ΚΕΙ ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΣΤΕΙΛΩ ΤΗΝ ΠΙΟ  
ΓΛΥΚΙΑ ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ!!! \*ΜΑΚΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ\*

THE LAND WE’RE STANDING ON IS  
DISTANT,BUT THE SKY WE’RE LOOKING  
AT IS THE SAME!SO LOOK HIGH AT THE  
SKY AND FROM THERE,I’LL SEND YOU  
MY SWEETEST GOODNIGHT!!!\*MANY  
KISSES\*

Questionnaire sample, male, 21-yr-old

Message 24 [4]

ΑΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΝΕΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΑ ΕΝΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
ΟΤΙ ΕΚΑΝΕ ΕΣΕΝΑ,ΑΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΝΕΙ  
ΛΑΘΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΣΕ ΚΡΑΤΑΕΙ ΜΑΚΡΙΑ  
ΑΠΟ ΜΕΝΑ!

IF GOD DOES MIRACLES, YOU ARE ONE OF  
THEM,IF GOD MAKES MISTAKES,KEEPING  
YOU AWAY FROM ME IS ONE OF THEM.

Questionnaire sample, male, 15-yr-old

However, text-messaging is not altogether excluded from environments where the participants involved are co-present. In particular, only 22.4% (n: 54) of the persons who took part in the questionnaire survey claim that they never send a text-message to someone who could talk to face-to-face (see figure 6.1). On the other hand, the practice of texting co-present individuals is rarely performed by 40.7% (n: 98) of the informants, frequently by 25.7% (n: 62) and, even, very often by a 7.9% (n: 19). These figures suggest that, although the medium has been designed and marketed as a technology enabling communication at a distance, it is, in practice, employed by its users in non-anticipated ways.



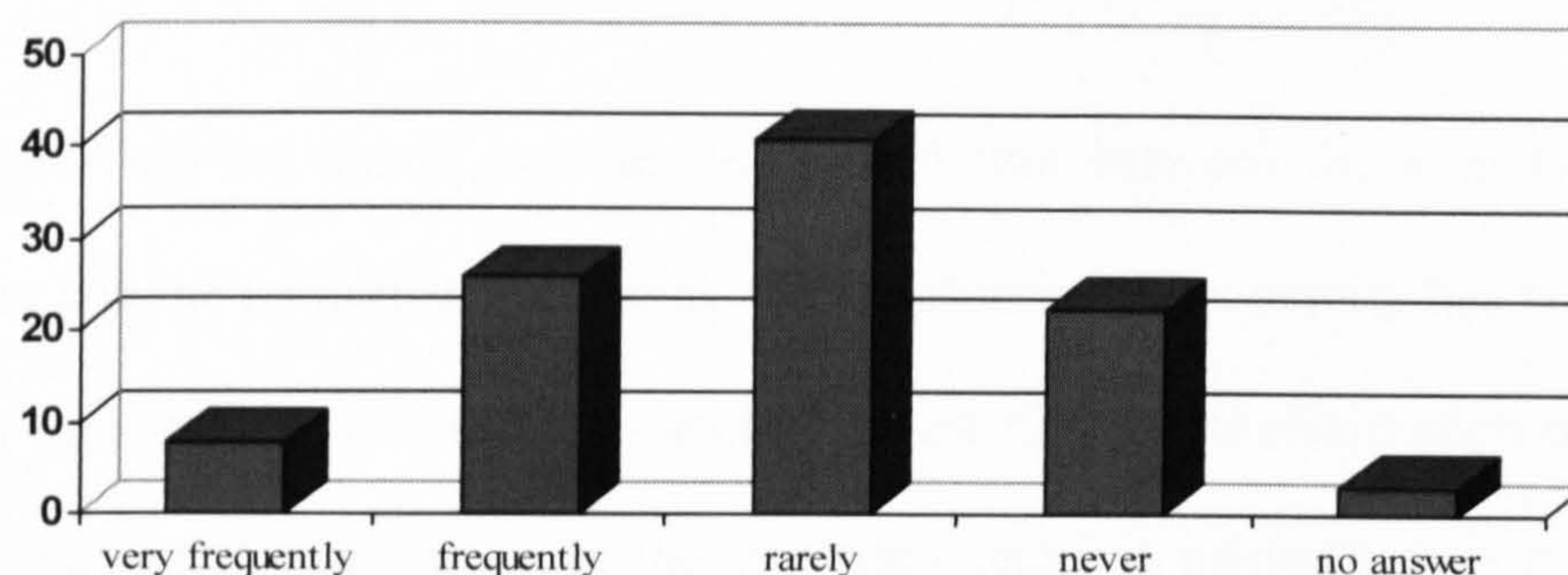


Figure 6.1. Texting in settings of co-presence<sup>7</sup>

But why would someone prefer text-messaging to face-to-face talk in a situation of co-presence? Although none of the messages collected in my case-studies has been produced under such circumstances<sup>8</sup>, the issue of texting between individuals sharing the same, immediate, spatio-temporal setting has arisen in the interviews. In general, they all seem to agree that this use of text-messaging is neither polite nor appropriate and, although some of them deny having sent a text to another, co-present individual, they all acknowledge that this practice exists among text-messagers. In particular, Kostas recalls a setting where he sent a message to his friend, Nikos, while they were both co-present together with other persons. According to his account, the reason for doing so was that he did not want the others to overhear the content of his message (i.e. that he was bored of their company and wanted to leave). Therefore, text-messaging allows co-participants in face-to-face environments to move in and out of the current setting. As a result, they can establish contact in a space which cannot be accessed and, thus, controlled by other co-present individuals. In such situations text-messaging offers to its users, literally, a “back door of communication”.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the relevant question “how often do you text persons so (physically) close that you could talk to them face-to-face?” Στέλνω μηνύματα (SMS) σε πρόσωπα που βρίσκονται σε κοντινή απόσταση, ενώ την ίδια στιγμή θα μπορούσα να τους μιλήσω πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο: πολύ συχνά □ αρκετά συχνά □ σπανίως □ καθόλου □ (see appendix III).

<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot know the circumstances under which the messages from the questionnaires have been produced.



## **6.9. Conclusion**

This chapter has set out to explore the interrelation between the activity of text-messaging and the participants' ongoing social activities. This inquiry has been felt to be worth undertaking, as the data clearly suggest that the topicalization of current location and ongoing activities in the messages under consideration is a common practice among users of text-messaging. At the same time, although socio-cultural studies of mobile telephony have noticed the embeddedness of text-messaging 'into the warp and woof of everyday life' (cf. Katz & Aakhus, 2002), they have primarily drawn their conclusions on the basis of the users' reflexive accounts available in interviews rather than a micro-analysis of the linguistic practices invoking such activities in the users' actual messages. However, a small number of CA studies (e.g. Laurier, 2001; Weilenmann 2003; Hutchby & Barnett, 2005) have paid attention to how current location and activities are topicalized in openings of mobile telephone conversations by means of formulaic inquiries, such as 'where are you?', 'what are you up to?', etc. This background research has allowed this study to address the question of what is different or specific about this practice in text-messaging.

The analysis of the data suggests that the practice of topicalizing current activities and location is employed in order to serve specific interactional tasks relevant to the topic of the individual text and/or the wider sequence. First, and foremost, the participants' current location and activities are invoked in order to check or show (non-)availability for interaction via text-messaging or other media. In addition, the topicalization of one's current setting becomes relevant in the texts co-ordinating a future and, most prominently, imminent face-to-face social arrangement. Finally, references to

activities unfolding simultaneously with text-messaging have also been found in epistolary-oriented messages that report everyday events and activities as part of the participants' daily 'catching up'.

It has been also demonstrated that locational references in text-messaging are rarely couched in the form of the widely documented 'where are you?' inquiry. In fact, although the above studies of mobile phone conversations have examined the use of such inquiries as opening formulae, I have shown that locational references are primarily invoked by the topic of the message and, thus, are placed in – or, even, constitute – the body of the text. This difference in the place of occurrence of such references between the two media is related to the communicative purposes that text-messaging is employed to fulfill. In other words, current location and activities are invoked in the body of a text, because a text-message can be sent in order to achieve interactional tasks to which participants orient in the openings of telephone calls, like checking availability or 'catching up'. Therefore, this discrepancy in the organization of interaction between the two media does not imply that users of text-messaging attend to different interactional issues. On the contrary, the interactional needs identified in CA research, e.g. checking availability, are prominent in texting as well. In addition, the study of text-messaging reveals that the management of interaction does not need to be made in a single medium, but it is actually performed through different technologies. For instance, the task of checking availability for initiating a telephone call can be achieved by means of a text-message and not in the opening section of a telephone conversation. As a result, different media become intertwined in a form of interaction stretching through different, face-to-face and mediated, environments.



Moreover, the practice of topicalizing current activities and location has been found to orient more to the setting of the person who produces (texter) rather than receives (textee) the message. In other words, these topicalizations occur more frequently in the form of reporting one's setting rather than inquiring about contextual aspects of the other's situation. Thus, contrary to face-to-face interaction and phone calls, the users of text-messaging are more likely to initiate interaction via text-messaging without attending to the other's availability. This practice capitalizes on the technological affordances of the medium which make the act of summoning in texting more discreet and less intrusive to the other party's setting. As mentioned in § 6.2, text-messaging, like paging (its technological predecessor), does not require for the immediate interruption of the summoned's current activities. Instead, the user can defer to the auditory signal alerting for an incoming message<sup>9</sup> and engage with the text at a later, more appropriate, time. Therefore, unlike face-to-face and telephone conversations, the summoner/texter does not need to assess the other party's availability in advance. On the other hand, the responsibility to assess the appropriateness of engaging with an incoming text depends more on the person who receives the message (textee).

Furthermore, the analysis of deictic references in my participants' topicalizations of current location and activities has shown that they are attuned to the participants' intimate relationships and previous interactional history which provide a frame for their contextualization. For example, the space referencing to places that my participants frequent in their leisure time capitalizes on and alludes to previously

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<sup>9</sup> At the same time, mobile telephony provides the user with the option of silencing the sound alert for an incoming message.

accumulated and shared lived experience. Such allusions to familiar places operate as a contextualizing frame for reporting current activities and/or co-ordinating upcoming interactions and reaffirm the participants' intimate relationships. In other words, the practice of deictic referring in the context of text-messaging relies more on memory and habitual engagement with people, places, and activities rather than on physical orientation to objects of reference in the immediately accessible environment.

As mentioned in § 2.3.4, the participant pairs with a high density of text-exchanges also represent the most intimate friends among the members of each case-study. As evident in the term of address *‘κολλητή/ός’* (literally meaning ‘glued’), the specific participants are self-identified as very close friends who contact each other on a regular (daily) basis and share activities and events occurring in their everyday routine. The practice of topicalizing current activities and the relevant setting allows the co-participants in text-messaging to have mutual access, shared understanding and, to some extent, control over each other's ‘here-and-now’. Therefore, although users of text-messaging are physically absent in the other party's distanced setting, the topicalization of ‘here-and-now’ in their messages creates a feeling of ‘absent presence’ (cf. Gergen, 2002). Thus, the analysis of deictic referring provides evidence for the idea that participants in mediated environments can establish some sense of ‘co-presence at a distance’, to echo Hutchby (2001: 85; cf. Danet, 2001: 112). Text-messaging allows the pairs of close friends in my data to stay ‘glued’ (*κολλητές/οί*) to each other by feeling connected, available, and ‘present’ in each other's everyday life, even when they are physically apart. This drive for contact at all times and places (cf. ‘perpetual contact’ in Katz & Aakhus, 2002) ties in with the sociability mode that the specific participants have established through face-to-face and mediated interactions.



In other words, the new medium provides an alternative for keeping track of each other's ongoing, daily, activities and, thus, sustaining their intimate and close relationships established offline.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Concluding discussion**

#### **7.1. Summary of findings**

This thesis has set out to explore text-messaging not only as individual, one-off sent, texts but also as contributions to longer sequences of messages, embedded in everyday social interaction between specific participants. Rather than presupposing a ‘new SMS language’, as documented in popular discourses (see §1.2.5) and inferred by early sociolinguistic work on SMS (see §1.3.1), this study has focused on how users of text-messaging manipulate verbal and graphemic choices as resources in order to suit the interactional needs of the environment at hand. In line with current developments in language-focused CMC research (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006; Danet, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Herring 2004), the present thesis has attempted to take into account different aspects of the ‘environment at hand’, including not only the technological specificities of the medium but also the participants’ relationships, their interactional history, and other contextual parameters, such as (a)synchronicity and mobility in interaction.

At the same time, the study’s scope concerns the everyday exchanges of text-messages among participants who belong to the age group of ‘youth’ (15-25 years old), as defined and explicitly targeted by mobile phone operators, and live in urban centres (e.g. Athens, Greece). Therefore, the culture-specific dimension of this thesis is brought to the fore by the data collected which shed light on the use of a globally-



diffused medium, such as mobile phones and SMS, in the local context of Greece. As outlined in chapter 2, data collection (summer 2003-spring 2004) combined two basic techniques: a questionnaire survey, which constitutes the main methodological tool in previous studies of SMS (e.g. Ling 2005; Thurlow, 2003b), and three case-studies. The latter method allowed this study to move beyond the examination of SMS as a corpus of randomly-collected individual texts and to probe more into their analysis as contributions to sequences embedded into the participants' web of previous and upcoming, mediated and face-to-face, interactions. Moreover, this thesis employed for the first time (to my knowledge) the technique of transferring SMS directly from a mobile phone to a portable computer by means of infrared technology. This technique has the advantages of minimizing errors in transcription and allowing the researcher to have access to the participants' messages as they appear saved on their mobile phones.

Part I (chapters 3 and 4) of the thesis examines the participants' micro-linguistic, graphemic, choices of alphabetical encoding, capitalization, and punctuation. Although previous CMC studies (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2000; Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou, 2003; Tseliga 2003) have discussed the issue of Romanized script in Greek CMC, sociolinguistic research on text-messaging has not yet focused on the encoding of SMS in Greece and other local cultures. In this respect, this thesis has demonstrated that the standard practice of writing Greek in the Greek alphabet is the unmarked choice in my data. As will be discussed in §7.5, this practice is related to how mobile telephony is marketed and received in local cultures. In this context of local appropriations of a globally-diffused medium, the use of Greeklish is limited to the graphemic marking of code-insertional phenomena in my sample. Although the

Roman encoding of English conversational routines within Greek default SMS orients to practices of global youth culture (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2004), the data analysis revealed that such English words and phrases are appropriated in the texts, as evidenced in cases of graphemic assimilation and phonetic manipulation. Unlike standard alphabetical encoding, capitalization and punctuation in the data do not follow the writing norms prescribed in grammars of Modern Greek. Instead, the unconventional norms of upper-case script, multiple punctuation, emoticons, letter-shape alternation, and eccentric spelling were documented in chapter 4. The discussion of these findings concluded that these choices, already existing in digital and comics writing, are driven by the interplay of two basic parameters: the principle of ‘maximum speed, minimum effort’ and the participants’ need to index their emotive stances in a medium of reduced paralinguistic cues. Therefore, this thesis brings more evidence which corroborates with previous research emphasizing the role of graphemic mode and code-centred choices in written interaction (cf. Danet, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2001; Kataoka 1997, 2003a).

Part II (chapters 5 and 6) shifts the focus of analysis from micro-linguistic phenomena to issues of organization and social interaction in text-messaging. Although the internal structure of individual messages has attracted the attention of previous studies (e.g. Mavreas, 2004; Ling, 2005), it has not been explored in relation to the texts preceding and/or following. The analysis of text-sequences in chapter 5 demonstrated that the prototypical pattern of ‘opening-body-closing’ orients to and co-varies with three major interactional issues: the establishment and maintenance of contact, the identification and consolidation of the participants’ relationships, and the communicative purpose of the (text-/)sequence. This type of analysis suggests that



openings and closings are sensitive to specific interactional practices. In other words, they are not a priori ‘optional’, as implied by the notion of ‘idealized structure’ in Genre Analysis, but their realization is tailored to the interactional needs of the specific participants in the environment at hand. In similar vein, chapter 6 focuses on references to the immediate setting and ongoing activities in the data. It has been shown that these topicalizations of current location and ongoing activities are employed in order to serve specific interactional tasks, such as checking or showing (non-)availability, co-ordinating imminent face-to-face social arrangements, and reporting everyday events and activities in the context of the specific participants’ daily ‘catching up’. Finally, the analysis of deictic references in my data has indicated that the participants’ previous interactions set a contextualizing frame of shared space references which are invoked and alluded to in text-messaging. Having presented the main findings of this thesis, the following sections will attempt to relate these findings with the theoretical issues discussed in § 1.3.1-7 and to suggest implications for further research.

## **7.2. Genre and norms in text-messaging**

As mentioned above, the participants’ verbal and graphemic choices – whether norms borrowed from existing genres or created anew – are viewed as resources on which particular participants draw in order to manage verbal interaction in the environment at hand (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2003: 3-9, 2006). Whether conceptualising genre as a ‘text-type’ (Biber, 1988), an ‘activity-type’ (Levinson, 1992) or an ‘orienting framework’ (Bauman, 2001), discourse studies share the view

that the production and interpretation of discourse cannot be achieved outside ‘frameworks of generic assumptions and expectations’ (Georgakopoulou, 1997: 160). However, the recent developments in new technologies have resulted in the proliferation of new communication settings where clear norms as to what can be assumed or expected in a specific genre are far from being established (cf. Danet, 2001: 51). Therefore, the lack of established norms through habitual use in such mediated environments brings to the fore the ‘new vs. old’ dilemma, i.e. ‘whether the genre is new, or an old one in a new medial grab’ (Giltrow & Stein, in prep.: 1).

Rather than treating text-messaging as a distinctively new genre, the present thesis has discussed the linguistic and communicative patterns observed in the participants’ use of SMS in relation to other, technologically-mediated and traditional, genres. As manifest in the terms employed for other forms of CMC, offline genres, such as letters, real-time chat, and paper greeting cards, are the most likely ancestors of email (cf. Danet, 2001: 52), e-chat (cf. Hutchby, 2001: 173), and digital greetings (cf. Danet, 2001: 159-171) respectively. However, the diversity of genres associated with text-messaging in the previous chapters suggests that the predecessor of SMS, the ‘translinguistic drag queen’ as referred to by Ling (2004: 162), is not readily identifiable. Although early CMC studies and sociolinguistic research on SMS have been preoccupied with situating hybrid online genres along the orality-literacy continuum (see § 1.3.1-2), this thesis has moved the discussion of hybridity in text-messaging beyond the speech-writing controversy by taking into account other pragmatic conditions of the genre, such as synchronicity, mobility, number of participants (cf. Giltrow & Stein, in prep.: 8).



As mentioned in section 1.3.5, the degree of simultaneity in the participants' contributions to the interaction has set up a new distinction between synchronous and asynchronous communication. However, text-messaging has been found to move along the continuum of synchronicity-asynchronicity. In terms of its technological affordances, text-messaging is placed towards the asynchronous end of the continuum due to the one-way transmission of each message. Nonetheless, the speed of transmission is considerably faster compared to the more traditional asynchronous genres of posted letter-writing and greeting cards. Due to the high speed of transmission, the minimum time lag between subsequent messages in my data is only a couple of seconds, similar to the case of quasi-synchronous CMC such as e-chat (cf. Garcia & Jacobs, 1999).

Furthermore, the analysis of the sequential organization of text-messaging (see chapter 5) has revealed that the messages under consideration are structured both as individual texts and as contributions to longer interactional sequences. More specifically, individual texts exhibit the prototypical tripartite structure of opening-body-closing, which has been argued for other asynchronous genres (e.g. answering machine messages, emails, letters). This prototypical structure, though, has been found to vary according to the position of the text in the interactional sequence of exchanged messages. For example, the absence of closings indexes the continuation of interaction, whereas the ratification of closing in subsequent messages indicates the end of the specific text-exchange. Therefore, I have argued that my participants attend to and, to some extent, co-construct the overall text-sequence in relation to the frames of medium, relationship, and topic, which have been also documented to be invoked in synchronous interaction of telephone conversations (cf. Scollon, 1998).

With respect to the number of participants, my data suggest that it represents a two-party interaction. As suggested in chapter 2, there are two basic categories of identity involved in text-messaging: the 'texter' and the 'textee'. More specifically, my analysis of text-exchanges between close friends indicates that the category of 'texter' also encompasses the roles of the 'sender', i.e. the owner of the phone number from which the text is sent, as identified by the system, the 'animator', i.e. the person who keys in the message, the 'author', i.e. the person who has formulated the wordings of the text, and the 'principal', i.e. the person responsible for the message's content (cf. Goffman, 1981). This convergence of roles is manifest in the lack of self-identification sequences in text-messaging, which indicates that the person, systemically identified as the 'sender', is assumed to take on the other roles as well. The highly personalized character of mobile phones also creates the expectation among users of text-messaging that the 'textee' is at the same time the 'recipient', i.e. the owner of the mobile phone which receives the message, the 'reader', i.e. the person who actually reads the text displayed, and the 'addressee', i.e. the person to whom the texter originally intends to send the message. Therefore, users of text-messaging have been found to dispense with elaborate openings, because they do not face the 'identification problem' (cf. Schegloff, 1979) imposed by less personal communication devices, such as landline telephones.

Another defining characteristic of text-messaging is the length of individual texts, which are eponymously short (cf. 'Short Message Service'). More specifically, the analysis of my sample in terms of word-length has revealed that most messages do not exceed the total of twenty-five words. The composition of short texts is clearly



associated with the space limitations imposed by the medium according to which a single SMS consists of no more than 160 characters (see § 2.2.1). However, pragmatic limitations over the production of texts have also been relevant to the form of pre-existing genres. For example, the duration of recording in an answering machine and the space provided for writing on a postcard have also resulted in the short length of answering machine messages (cf. Goutsos, 2001) and postcard notes (cf. Danet, 2001) respectively.

Last, but not least, text-messaging does not afford the multimodal interface occurring in computer-mediated environments. In other words, the texts exchanged via SMS cannot be accompanied and enhanced by sound and/or picture files, as is the case for email, e-chat and other electronic genres. As a result, my participants have been found to manipulate typography as a unique resource and, thus, capitalize on the graph(em)ic mode for text production. As will be argued in the following section (7.3), the manipulation of typography in my data compensates for the paucity of paralinguistic cues which are communicated through auditory and/or visual channels in face-to-face interaction.

### **7.3. Graphemic representation in Greek SMS**

Considering that users of text-messaging can visually access and manipulate only the short text displayed on their handset, the message's graphemic representation becomes paramount in this medium. As argued for computer-mediated communication, the digital text is 'bi-stable', because 'we are always looking first at it

and then through it' (Lanham, 1993: 5). In other words, the persistence of words on a phone's screen (cf. Danet, 2001: 362) invites us to give equal attention to the text's linguistic form and meaning. At the same time, the bi-stability of text becomes all the more prevalent in new, technologically-mediated, environments where the conventional boundaries between marked and unmarked texts – in terms of both form and content– have been blurred (idem: 7).

In environments of text-based, mediated, interaction, the issue of graph(em)ic representation has raised, first and foremost, concerns regarding the role of technological affordances in the participants' choices. The exploration of interdependencies between language and technology invokes social theory debates on the relationship between technological media and social (inter)action. Avoiding the polarized, essentialist or social constructivist, approaches to technology, this study has attempted to analyze the participants' language choices 'in the context of what the technology does and does not make possible, or 'afford'' (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005: 148). Hutchby's (2001) notion of 'technological affordance' allows the analyst to take into account both the materiality of technologies and the users' observable appropriations of technology.

In my study of Greek text-messaging, I have demonstrated that the norm for alphabetical encoding (see chapter 3) and capitalization (see chapter 4) coincides with graphemic choices facilitated by the characteristics of the technological system. The availability of Greek fonts, enabled by localized software, is a prerequisite for the encoding of text-messaging in the standard Greek script. With regard to the history of mobile telephony in Greece, while the first mobile handsets, launched in the Greek



market, did not enable the use of Greek fonts, the choice of Greek menus and characters is a common fixture among today's phones. The impact of systemic changes on the users' choices is manifest in my data. As mentioned in chapter 3, Anna (female participant in the first group) immediately switched her writing to Greek, when she upgraded her phone to a model equipped with a Greek menu and, thus, Greek characters by default. In other words, the specific participant shifted to the Greek script – the norm in my data – as soon as the technology enabled her to employ this set of characters without sparing keystrokes. Therefore, users of text-messaging have been found to pick up on the technological affordances that reduce time and effort in the composition of a text (cf. the 'maxim of brevity and speed' in Thurlow, 2003b: 17).

The participants' orientation towards speed in typing is also evident in their practice of avoiding choices constrained by the technological system. Although the technology of SMS enables switches between Roman and Greek and between upper- and lower-case characters, it does not facilitate such shifts, because it requires extra keystrokes. Considering the specific technological affordance, Greek upper-case script represents the norm in Greek text-messaging; a choice which allows for the least effort and time in typing a text. Nonetheless, in contrast to strict capitalization found in Greek text-messaging, all lower-case script constitutes the norm in CMC genres (Danet, 2001; Nishimura, 2003). In spite of the apparent difference in the script between Greek text-messaging and other digital media, the preference for either all upper- or all lower-case characters indicates that users of new technologies make their language choices in line with the technological affordances and in order to ultimately speed up the process of typing. But, does the motto 'maximum speed, minimum effort' suffice to

understand the meaning of my participants' graphemic choices in the specific technological environment?

My analysis of marked graphemic choices, constrained by the medium, has shown that the 'save a keystroke' principle (cf. Crystal, 2001: 87) can be overridden for reasons of self-presentation. For example, Melina (female participant in the first group) consistently employs both upper- and lower-case letters and writes her text-messages in Greeklish, in spite of the fact that her phone can be set in Greek default. In other words, her graphemic style is differentiated from the Greek all upper-case script which I have argued to be the norm in Greek text-messaging. The marked use of alphabetical encoding and capitalization should also be viewed in relation to the participant's stance towards text-messaging and other new technologies. As mentioned before, Melina has been the least keen on sending text-messages and the most computer literate among my participants (in the case-studies). I have argued that her resistance to adhere to the norms of text-messaging is linked with her 'non-friendly' attitude towards the medium. Within this context, the marked graph(em)ic choices operate as cues on the basis of which her friends can recognise Melina's messages, even if the system's display of caller ID is deactivated. Therefore, as Thurlow (2003b: 20) suggestively argues, users of text-messaging employ the graphemic representation of a text as a resource for self-presentation and identification ('visual signature'; cf. Jaffe, 2000: 509).

Furthermore, the use of marked graphemic choices, requiring more effort and time in text composition, is related to the participants' expressive concerns. Similar to text-based CMC interaction and more traditional forms of written communication, users of



text-messaging cannot draw on paralinguistic cues (e.g. intonation, stress, laughter, etc) and other non-verbal signs (e.g. gestures and body posture). It is by now a truism that face-to-face communication is achieved through the interplay of verbal and non-verbal signs ('contextualisation cues'; Gumperz, 1982, 1992) helping co-participants in their attempt to construe some common understanding of what is communicated. With regard to text-based mediated environments, such as text-messaging, my findings suggest that the graphemic elements of language, such as letter-shape (upper- or lower-case) and punctuation, are employed in order to embed in the text paralinguistic signals, like shouting, laughing, winking, etc (cf. 'paralinguistic restitution' in Thurlow, 2003b: 17). In other words, the communication of such signals between participants in different spatio-temporal settings can be achieved by means of graphemic resources. Moreover, previous research has argued that contextualization cues, such as code-centred choices in emails, depart from the local norms of the text in order to 'act as foregrounding mechanisms' (Georgakopoulou, 2001: 312). Indeed, the graphemic choices of changing letter-shape and multiplying punctuation require more time and effort and, thus, mark a departure from text-messaging norms, which orient, as argued above, to issues of brevity and speed.

More specifically, the manipulation of punctuation and letter-shape as graphemic resources in my data is related to my participants' needs for emotive self-presentation. Similar to Kataoka's (2003a: 14) findings regarding the use of pictorial signs in Japanese informal letter-writing, the above graph(em)ic choices do not appear randomly in a text-message. Instead, they have been found to demarcate transition points between different sequential parts (e.g. opening, body, closing) in the text. The systematicity in their loci of occurrence suggests that the enactment of these

graphemic devices hinges on my participants' shared awareness regarding the sequential organization of a text (cf. Kataoka, 2003a: 2). Furthermore, despite the popular fascination with emoticons in text-messaging, instances of such iconic representations of emotion are rather rare in the messages under consideration (cf. Thurlow, 2003b). Rather than borrowing these popular smileys, my participants prefer to manipulate conventional punctuation by creating novel punctuation clusters and not conforming to the norms of standard writing (see chapter 4). Unlike iconic representation of emotion (e.g. emoticons), the non-standard use of existing punctuation conveys affect through the interplay between convention and the contingencies of the specific context of use. However, these graphemic devices do not function as explicit manifestations of emotion but index the participant's emotive stance towards the text and, most importantly, the textee (cf. Kataoka, 2003a: 23). Such emotive contextualizations, which are highly contingent and unconventional, are paramount for consolidating social relationships and fostering intimacy between the texter and the textee.

#### **7.4. Perpetual contact and sociability: staying connected, available, and 'present'**

The medium's affordance to establish connectivity between physically remote individuals at any time and place could not escape the attention of popular and academic discourse alike. As evident in the logo of a global mobile phone supplier (i.e. Nokia), 'Connecting People' becomes the attribute *par excellence* of mobile telephony. The hype of 'perpetual contact' is also manifest in the marketing campaigns of Greek mobile network operators. For instance, the advertising brochure



of Cosmote's payment plan, called 'what's up? THE YOUTH TOOL', informs its targeted youth audience that 'wherever you are, you can chat with your friends' by texting or calling.<sup>1</sup>

As mentioned in § 1.3.6, the notion of 'perpetual contact' – or Schegloff's (2002a: 284) similar idea of 'incipiency in talk' – has been introduced by Katz & Aakhus (2002) in their collection of early studies on mobile telephony. Indeed, the analysis of my data – and, in particular, the examination of text-exchanges among the members of my case-studies in chapters 5 and 6 – suggests that the drive for 'perpetual contact' underlies my participants' use of text-messaging. More specifically, this new form of sociability has been explored in relation to the type of social relationships between the participants in my case-studies. As noted in § 2.3.4, there are distinct relationship dynamics developed between the different members of each group. Considering the fact that the activity of text-messaging involves primarily, or at least, two ratified participants (that is, the texter and the textee), we have observed that the text-messages gathered from my case-studies represent text-exchanges between specific pairs of participants. In particular, certain participant-pairs – for example, Fay and Nana, Dimitra and Anna, Maria and Elisavet, and Kostas and Nikos – have been found to exchange relatively more text-messages compared to the rest of the participants and sustain a more intimate relationship. In other – or, rather, their own – words, they are 'κολλητές' / 'κολλητοί'; meaning that they are best friends ('mates' or 'best buddies'). How is this term of address, though, related to issues of contact and connectivity?

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<sup>1</sup> *όπου κι αν είσαι μπορείς να τα «λες» γραπτά και προφορικά με την παρέα σου* from Cosmote's advertising brochure of the low tariff plan 'what's up?' (November 2002; see appendix II).

As mentioned in § 2.3.4, the literal meaning of the term invokes, first and foremost, the notion of contact between two entities (*κολλητές/κολλητοί* meaning fastened or connected together with glue). In the metaphorical use of the term, the adhesive quality of this uniting substance foregrounds the close and intimate friendship between the members of the participant-pairs above. The close contact among the specific participants has been found to correlate with other contextual parameters, such as residential proximity (cf. Anna and Dimitra), being members of a shared institutional community (cf. Maria and Elisavet attending the same high school), common background (cf. Kostas and Nikos moving from Larisa to Athens to pursue their studies), etc. At the same time, such close friends discuss more intimate matters regarding their romantic relationships (cf. Anna and Dimitra, Maria and Elisavet), share common attitudes towards life and social etiquette (cf. Fay and Nana), and have similar hobbies (cf. Nikos and Kostas). Therefore, the present study has attempted to examine the textual and interactional patterns in my data, which appear driven by the socio-logic of perpetual contact, and the relevance of this social urge to the type of my participant relationships described above.

As defined by Katz & Aakhus (2002c) (see § 1.3.6), perpetuity in contact is experienced by social actors as an ever-lasting possibility of making contact. Mobile telephony and text-messaging in particular are popularly assumed to enhance this perpetual possibility of contact by means of the medium's affordances. For example, the handy and portable device, the silent mode and text-archiving capacities of text-messaging multiply the potential settings and situations in which users can be reached by physically non co-present individuals (cf. text-messaging as 'the back door of communication'; Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002: 171). However, the (socio-)logic of



perpetual contact presupposes that the relevant participants are – or, at least, behave as if they were continually available for interaction. As pointed out by Schegloff (2002b: 331), the ‘problem of availability’ arises in any activity that requires the coordination of at least two parties, such as conversation or any other type of human interaction. In the case of text-messaging, though, I have argued that mutual availability represents for my participants the expected norm rather than a ‘problem’ that requires negotiation.

The participants’ urge for perpetual availability is evident in their practice to avoid switching off their mobile phone. For instance, Fay and Nana – the most eager users of text-messaging in my data – have reported in their interviews that they always have their phones on, even while asleep at night. In a similar vein, they prefer putting their mobile in silent mode to turning it off in settings where the use of mobile telephony is not allowed. My participants’ conscious choice to keep their phones on at all times means that they are constantly connected to the mobile network. However, unlike the network of world wide web, the mobile network has a more personal and private character, since it is limited to the number of contacts (i.e. phone numbers) saved by the user on her phone. As for my participants, the practice of never switching off the phone allows for their constant and/or instant connectivity with the mobile network, which consists of their family and friends.

Moreover, the notion of perpetual availability, inherent to the continuing state of incipient interaction experienced in text-messaging, has been shown to be operative in my analysis of the participants’ interactional sequences in chapters 5 and 6. In particular, I have shown that the lack of availability for contact – realized by the

absence of response from the other party (textee) via text-messaging or other media – is not overlooked by the participants in my data. Instead, the textee's failure to acknowledge reciprocity of a message is brought into focus and becomes topicalized in the text-exchanges under investigation. More specifically, the lack of response to an 'initiating text' has been found to trigger a second message from the same participant which openly challenges the textee for her non-availability. Considering the time lag between the initiating texts and such 'follow-up' messages, my data suggest that close friends expect a response within twenty minutes and failure to reply within this time limit constitutes a sign of unavailability. In addition, the issue of availability is topicalized in the other party's reply when delayed beyond the expected twenty-minute period. In other words, the markedness of a delayed 'responding text' is evident in the participant's use of phatic particles, such as *έλα ρε* (phatic particles, roughly equivalent to the English 'hey'), which operate as cues of re-establishing contact, and/or her explicit account for not having been able to reply sooner. At the same time, the assumption of perpetual availability in text-messaging underlies the use of SMS as a means of checking whether the other party is available for engaging in another mediated interaction, such as a telephone call. For instance, text-messages of the type 'can I call you?' (*να πάρω;*) presuppose that the other party will be able to send an SMS, in spite of not being able to engage in a telephone conversation.

The drive for perpetual contact is further attested to a sense of 'presence' which can be created via text-messaging even among displaced individuals. Although previous studies (e.g. Hutchby, 2001: 85; Danet, 2001: 112) have pointed out the possibility of 'co-presence at a distance' in other mediated environments, such as telephone calls and Internet Relay Chat, the present study has examined how this sense is constructed



in the absence of any paralinguistic – for instance, auditory – signals and among close friends sharing a long offline interactional history. As pointed out in chapter 6, the rather paradoxical ‘co-presence’ in asynchronous mediated interaction draws on a defining characteristic of face-to-face, physical, co-presence: a sense of mutual access, understanding, and, to some extent, control over the participants’ here-and-now (cf. Danet, 2001: 109). However, while participants in face-to-face interaction can immediately attend to each other’s presence by means of paralinguistic, among other, signals (e.g. body posture, eye gazing, gestures, etc), users of text-messaging need to construct this mutual sense of ‘presence’ by drawing on the affordances of the medium, the textual composition of the message and the participants’ specific interactional history. With respect to time, the quasi-synchronous mode of SMS, afforded by the instant exchange of texts, creates a sense of immediacy and simultaneity in interaction, which is manifest in my participants’ orientation to the present. In particular, the analysis of temporal deictic references in my data has pointed to the practice of topicalizing current activities and events which unfold parallel to text-messaging. At the same time, this topicalization indexes not only the time of the simultaneously unfolding activities but also the location of the participants involved, mainly the texter and the textee. In addition to indicating non-availability as in mobile phone calls (cf. Hutchby & Barnett, 2005; Weilenmann, 2003), the prevalence of ‘here and now’ in SMS serves two communicative functions: the immediate announcement of breaking news and the coordination of imminent future arrangements (see chapter 6). Therefore, the topicalization of one’s current activities, along with the relevant spatio-temporal setting, enhances a feeling of ‘presence’ in the other’s setting. In other words, text-messaging allows close friends (‘οι κολλητοί’) to

remain glued to each other by feeling ‘present’ in the other’s setting, even when they are physically apart.

### **7.5. The local language and culture in a globally diffused medium**

As mentioned in § 7.3, the design of software affording the use of Greek fonts is a prerequisite for the encoding of text-messages in the standard Greek script. However, the need for localized software would not have arisen unless mobile phone operator companies had not foreseen the boom of text-messaging in the local market. As argued for computer systems (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006), the market needs to play an important role in determining the systemic changes to a medium’s technological profile. In fact, the increasing popularity of mobile telephony in Greece has resulted in the gradual substitution of early mobile phones affording only the Roman script with mobile handsets including menus and characters in Greek. The impact of such systemic changes on the users’ choices is evident in my data: for example, Anna immediately switched her writing to Greek, when she upgraded her phone to a model equipped with Greek characters (see § 3.6.2). In light of CMC studies arguing for a decrease in the Roman/English use on the Internet as a result of the system’s adoptability to the users’ native languages, the documented (see chapter 3) prevalence of the standard (Greek) script in Greek text-messaging capitalizes on the medium’s early availability of localized software and fonts.

However, the use of English has been documented in the encoding of messages which are meant for collective diffusion and are not tailored to the participants’ current



interpersonal needs and concerns. At the same time, the specific type of text-messages has been found to draw on references globally available from popular culture and, in particular, popular music. Thus, I argue that the use of English in Greek text-messaging is more related to the content and the type of a particular message rather than the medium and its technological affordances.

Except for the encoding of English (chain) text-messages, Roman characters are also employed for the writing of English words and phrases within Greek default messages. It should be noted that the practice of shifting from one script to another is not favoured by the technological specificities of the medium, because it requires more keystrokes. Nonetheless, users of text-messaging switch to Roman for the encoding of English words, which have been integrated into Greek through the global spread of popular cultures, such as popular music, fashion, computer games, fast food culture, etc. At the same time, English conversational routines are also encoded with Roman characters in Greek text-messaging. The present thesis argues that the use of Roman characters for writing the specific English words is related to the worldwide youth practice of embedding in a local code, here Modern Greek, slang terms and conversational routines of vernacular English. In line with previous research (Androutsopoulos, 2004) on youth culture and globalization, the alphabet switch arguably represents a (typo)graphic resource which, along with the English words incorporated at the level of vocabulary, signals the participants' affiliation with (global) youth culture. However, the incorporation of such conversational routines into Greek text-messages may also exhibit a process of creative appropriation. This appropriation involves transliteration of the English words into Greek and language play that has been documented to serve the (local) interpersonal concerns of the

specific participants. The particular finding resonates with previous research arguing that global commodities and verbal resources are not received and adopted by local cultures in any uniform way (cf. Danet & Herring, 2003).

Furthermore, the data analysis has brought to the fore the appropriation of the particular technology in line with culture-specific modes of sociability. As mentioned in § 1.3.7, unlike CMC studies, research on mobile telephony has shown an early interest in studying the use of mobile phones and SMS in diverse cultures. However, it was through cultural, rather than sociolinguistic, studies of mobile telephony that we have gained valuable insights into the different appropriations of the global technology in local societies, such as the ‘counter-intuitive’ use of mobile phones for non-instantaneous communication in a Filipino village (Strøm, 2002: 278) or the use of Internet technology in the exchange of Japanese *keitai* (mobile) email, equivalent to European SMS (Matsuda, 2005: 124). This thesis has demonstrated that text-messaging is embedded in the organization of social activities, which have socio-cultural value in the socialization of young Greeks, such as ‘catching up over a cup of coffee’ in familiar places (*στέκια*). At the same time, the technology of SMS provides another vehicle for continuing this ‘catching up’ beyond the familiar places, where the participants are physically co-present, and, in turn, fostering a sense of ‘co-presence at-a-distance’. This sense is further enhanced by the participants’ orientation to the ‘here-and-now’, which has also been shown to indicate involvement in Greek telephone calls (cf. Pavlidou, 1997: 160). Thus, the instant and constant connectivity of SMS allows Greek users to stay ‘involved’ in each other’s everyday life by being available and accountable to the social network of friends and relatives at all times and places.



## **7.6. Text-messages and social interaction: moving beyond new language myths**

This thesis has taken as its point of departure an overview of popular representations of text-messaging, as manifest in newspaper articles published while mobile telephony was booming in the Greek market (c. 2001-2003). The examination of such representations has provided us with a window into the set of preconceived ideas and popular myths that prevail in the specific culture. In brief, language use in Greek SMS is portrayed as a ‘new language’ (cf. §1.2.3), a written variety of Modern Greek, which exhibits certain distinctive characteristics, such as non-standard punctuation and spelling, abbreviations and acronyms, emoticons, Greeklish and English loanwords. As for the new forms of communication afforded by SMS technology, popular views span from positive stances celebrating directness and immediacy in interaction to negative attitudes arguing for a transactional, goal-oriented, and impoverished mode of communication (cf. §1.2.4). This section is aimed at revisiting such preconceptions about text-messaging in light of the findings discussed in §7.1-7.5.

The ‘new language’ myth capitalises on the idea that text-messages abound with linguistic forms and structures which have been created and introduced by users of SMS and other digital technologies (e.g. Internet). As mentioned above, Roman characters, upper-case script, English loans, emoticons, and lack of punctuation are popularly identified among the typical characteristics of Greek SMS. However, my empirical analysis has shown that the norms in the participants’ use of text-messaging do not entirely coincide with the aforementioned characteristics. In particular, my findings suggest that Greek-alphabeted upper-case script constitutes the norm in

Greek SMS. Moreover, unlike stereotypical views regarding punctuation and use of English in SMS, my participants make, on the one hand, a rather restricted use of emoticons, English loans, and acronyms, and, on the other, an unconventional, though elaborate, use of punctuation marks. Therefore, this study has provided evidence pointing to the gap between what is stereotypically believed about text-messaging and what is actually done in – and through – SMS. In line with Cameron's view about language attitudes (1995: xiii), popular beliefs about and actual uses of text-messaging are equally important in the study of SMS, provided that they do not appear conflated as in the case of newspaper discourse and folk linguistics.

Furthermore, the discussion of my findings has cast doubt on popular representations of SMS celebrating or condemning its unique and distinctive properties. In terms of generic norms, I have argued that users of text-messaging transfer and re-appropriate norms from different, mediated and face-to-face, genres in the new environment. In other words, the allegedly 'new' SMS features, such as upper-case script, unconventional punctuation, and short message length, are also norms of 'old', more traditional, genres, like comics, informal letter-writing, postcards, and answering machine messages. This observation, thus, shifts our attention away from the unfruitful dichotomy of 'new vs. old' language varieties and brings to the fore the hybrid nature of such mediated genres. At the same time, the discussion of text-messaging in relation to other media allows us to avoid attributing the observed linguistic and interactional patterns exclusively to the new medium. The technological determinism underlying popular representations of SMS has been overridden by the thesis' attempt to point to the relevance of a host of pragmatic parameters arising from the actual use of the medium and not its systemic specificities alone.



With respect to the possibilities for social interaction provided by the new medium, negative attitudes towards text-messaging have claimed that it fosters transactional and goal-oriented communication. In other words, the composition and exchange of SMS are popularly assumed to fulfil certain transactional goals which override the participants' needs for expressivity and/or phatic communion. On the other hand, the graphemic analysis of my data suggests that users of SMS orient to issues of expressivity and encode their emotive stances even in the absence of paralinguistic cues. More specifically, face and other interpersonal needs have been found to override the principle of 'maximum speed, minimum effort' in text-messaging. In addition, the practices of topicalising 'here-and-now' and referring to a shared social space, together with the abundance of 'catching-up' messages in my sample, have indicated that the specific SMS-exchanges are deeply embedded in the participants' everyday interaction and play an important role in sustaining their close and intimate friendships.

However, my findings are not to be interpreted along the lines of the popular hype manifest in advertisements of mobile operator companies where the medium per se is supposed to bring about close and perpetual contact among its users. In fact, the contextualised analysis of my sample has shown that the consolidation of intimate friendships among the participants is grounded on a web of existing offline relationships and embedded in a complex network of previous, parallel, and upcoming interactions. As mentioned above, language use and social interaction in text-messaging are conditioned to the interplay of the medium's technological affordances with a number of other contextual parameters, such as (a)synchronicity, number of participants, communicative purpose etc. Therefore, unlike popular representations,

this study acknowledges and brings to the fore variation in the use of Greek SMS. Such contextualised approaches to text-messaging and new media in general contribute to a view of new media users as a less homogeneous group and move the popular debate beyond the polarised dichotomy between ‘good’ vs. ‘evil’ media.

### **7.7. Implications for further study**

The current study of text-messaging is situated in the local culture of Greece ten years after the introduction of mobile phones in the specific country. At the time of my data collection (2003), the technology of SMS had been a fixture of Greek mobile phones only for the last five years (since 1997/1998). Despite the early predictions for the substitution of SMS from multimedia messages, text-messaging continues to technologically evolve and its low cost makes the specific service popular among young people still today. As a result, the examination of text-messages and social interaction remains a topic which is far from being exhaustively studied and opens up further directions for research.

In terms of methodology, this thesis has moved beyond the preliminary method of collecting text-messages through transcription of these digital texts onto paper. The possibilities of archiving and establishing data connectivity between wireless devices have enabled me to retain the digital form of the messages gathered in my case-studies and, thus, examine the data in their original form. However, this methodological tool has the shortcoming of displaying the full text on the screen of a computer and, thus, the analyst cannot have the experience of reading gradually a



message by scrolling down on a mobile phone screen. This visual effect of a text displayed in chunks can be employed as a resource for playful interaction. Therefore, the study of visual format in SMS, largely unexplored in this thesis, will benefit from a data collection method which will enable the examination of texts in the way displayed on a small mobile screen.

Moreover, my data were collected at a time where predictive text entry was not a standard feature in Greek mobile handsets. However, the technological evolution of the system, along with its popularity in Greece, resulted in the introduction of the dictionary T9 in Greek as well. In fact, most of the participants in my case-studies have informed me that nowadays they employ this new service. As a result, a clear avenue for further research is to compare the type of data analyzed in this thesis with current messages composed with predictive text. We could, perhaps, speculate that the use of predictive text will enhance the formulaicity in text-messaging by providing pre-structured fixed phrases for communicative situations associated with text-messaging. Considering, though, that the user has the opportunity to enrich the lexicon with new words and phrases, it would be interesting to explore how this technological service can be personalized by individual users.

Furthermore, the data analysis has suggested that there are gender differential patterns in text-messaging. For instance, the language choices of expressive punctuation and affective terms have been found to correlate with female rather than male participants. Although gender variation has not been among the main foci of analysis in this thesis, the above findings point to differences in the patterns of SMS use between female and male users. Future research can explore whether such differential patterns occur not

only in same-gender text-exchanges, which have been under scrutiny in this study, but also in cross-gender SMS-interaction. Another parameter worth exploring with regard to language variation in text-messaging is the users' familiarity with other computer media. More specifically, it would be interesting to examine to what extent the participants' attitudes towards text-messaging and other computer media change, as the penetration rate of Internet and computers is gradually raising in Greece, and, in turn, whether language patterns in text-messaging are beginning to coincide more with online digital practices. In terms of social variation, text-messaging provides a unique opportunity to study the use of a new medium across different age groups and from various socio-economic backgrounds, given the high penetration rate of mobile telephony in Greece. As a result, the findings of this study regarding language use and interaction in SMS among young groups of close friends in Athens are offered for comparisons with data from older or younger generations who live in less urban areas.

The unknown future of new, 'cutting-edge', media is echoed in the analyst's fear that the technology under investigation 'might even disappear within a very few years, or at least be so transformed that one can no longer speak of it as such' (Danet, 2001: 349). We are lucky enough to testify that SMS technology has 'outlived' the temporal boundaries of this thesis and continues to be one of the most popular services of mobile telephony. In addition, the discussion of generic norms in relation to a range of contextual parameters, not limited to the volatile characteristics of the medium, allows this thesis to avoid 'premature antiquarianism' (Schegloff, 2002a: 290). Focusing at the same time on text-messages and social interaction, the above discussion reveals the interplay between language use in SMS and the following socio-cultural practices: local appropriations of a globally diffused medium, manipulating the graphemic mode



for enhanced expressivity in written interaction, and managing sociability by staying connected, available, and ‘present’.

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## **APPENDICES**

- I. Newspaper articles
- II. Media material
- III. Questionnaire
- IV. Sample of text-messages (quoted in the thesis)

## APPENDIX I

### Newspaper articles



## Appendix I. Newspaper articles

Journal	Date	Title	Author	Position/Frame <sup>1</sup>	Genre	Topic
To Vima	07/01/2001	<i>Νέα Χιλιετία Νέα Σύμβολα</i> New Millennium New Symbols	D. Kipseliotis	Greece <i>Γνωστοί-Άγνωστοί - Diaries/Chitchat</i>	opinion-oriented ΣΧΟΛΙΟ	language and culture
To Vima	23/06/2002	<i>Ρόδα, τσάντα και... κινητό</i> Wheel, bag and... mobile <sup>2</sup>	D. Galanis	Greece <i>Ρεπορτάζ – Current Affairs</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	youth culture
To Vima	22/12/2002	<i>Το προφίλ του Έλληνα 15χρονο</i> The profile of a Greek 15-yr-old	P. Karlaira	Greece <i>Ρεπορτάζ – Current Affairs</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	youth culture
To Vima	11/05/2003	<i>Η εθνική γλώσσα</i> The national language	Ch. Coulouri	<i>Νέες εποχές – cultural supplement. Επιφυλλίδες</i>	opinion-oriented ΕΠΙΦΥΛΛΙΔΑ	language change
To Vima	15/06/2003	<i>Ο «καλτσοπεδιλούχος» και άλλα εφήμερα</i> The “kaltsopedilouchos” and other ephemeral	M. Souliotis	<i>Νέες εποχές – cultural supplement. Επιφυλλίδες</i>	opinion-oriented ΕΠΙΦΥΛΛΙΔΑ	digital culture and language
To Vima	12/10/2003	<i>Κινητό: απελευθερωτής ή δικτάτορας;</i> Mobile phone: liberator or dictator?	T. Kafantaris	technology <i>BHMA Science. Τεχνολογία</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture
To Vima	09/11/2003	<i>Να πάρω κινητό στο παιδί μου;</i> Should I buy my child a mobile?	T. Kafantaris	technology <i>BHMA Science. Τεχνολογία</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture and young people
Ta Nea	16/01/2001	<i>Ο πόλεμος της γλώσσας</i> The war of language	M. Chartoulari	culture <i>Πανόραμα</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	digital culture and language
Ta Nea	30/04/2002	<i>Κάρτες πασχάλινες και άλλα μηνύματα</i> Easter greeting cards and other messages	S. Fasoulis	culture <i>Ορίζοντες</i>	opinion-oriented ΣΧΟΛΙΟ	mobile phone culture
Ta Nea	11/05/2002	<i>Ο γύρος του κόσμου με ένα κινητό</i> Touring the world on the mobile	R. Dimitriou	world <i>Κόσμος</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture

<sup>1</sup> I mean in which section of the newspaper the particular article occurs and I argue that it is indicative of how the paper classifies the specific articles.

<sup>2</sup> The title invokes an 80's popular Greek movie, whose original title was 'ρόδα, τσάντα και κοπάνα' (meaning 'wheel', i.e. motorcycles, 'bag', i.e. schoolbags, and 'truant'). The movie was about a group of youngsters in their final year of high school. The title was supposed to summarise their lifestyle which involved playing truant and going around with their motorcycles.

Ta Nea	21/05/2002	Χρς φωντ...!!! <i>W't vwl...!!!</i> <sup>3</sup>	N. Bastea	Γνώμες-Σχόλια. Στήλη <i>άλματος (μόνιμη στήλη)</i>	opinion-oriented ΣΧΟΛΙΟ	youth, mobile phone culture and language
Ta Nea	27/05/2002	<i>Η τεχνολογία αλλάζει και τον αντίχειρα!</i> Technology changes thumb as well!	K. Routsi	culture <i>Ορίζοντες</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture
Ta Nea	03/10/2002	<i>«Είμαστε τα παιδιά της ψηφιακής επανάστασης»</i> “We are the children of the digital revolution”	L. Stamati	culture <i>Ορίζοντες</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	digital culture and young people
Ta Nea	28/12/2002	<i>Αγαπητέ Αγιε Βασίλη, φέρε μου ένα... κινητό!</i> Dear Santa, bring me a... mobile!	(unsigned)	<i>Κόσμος</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture
Ta Nea	21/06/2003	<i>Ράβε.. πλήρωνε...</i> ???.. pay...	E. Akrita	<i>Ελλάδα</i>	opinion-oriented ΣΧΟΛΙΟ	popular culture
Eleftherotipia	31/01/2001	<i>Η κουκούρα του αντίχειρα</i> Thumb culture	A. Politi	culture <i>Τέχνες</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture and language
Eleftherotipia	29/03/2001	<i>Η γενιά των μηνυμάτων</i> Text generation	Th. Kanelos	world <i>Κόσμος. Πλανήτης Γη (μόνιμη στήλη)</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture and youth
Eleftherotipia	20/07/2001	<i>«Στα διαγραμμένα» η ζωντανή επικοινωνία</i> Live <sup>4</sup> communication “deleted”	I. Kosma	culture <i>Τέχνες. Η ζωή είναι εδώ</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture
Eleftherotipia	31/08/2001	<i>Η κινητο-ποίηση του πλανήτη</i> The mobil-ization of the planet	M. Andriotakis	culture <i>Τέχνες. Η ζωή είναι εδώ</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture and communication
Eleftherotipia	21/01/2003	<i>Επικοινωνιακά χάσματα</i> Gaps in communication	M. Andriotakis	culture <i>Τέχνες. Η ζωή είναι εδώ</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	popular culture and communication
Eleftherotipia	22/01/2003	<i>Κολλημένος με το κινητό; «Στείλε μήνυμα»</i> Tied to the mobile? “Send a message”	K. Tzavara	world <i>Κόσμος. Πλανήτης Γη (μόνιμη στήλη)</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	youth and mobile phone culture
Eleftherotipia	25/04/2003	<i>Κινητά: 30 εκατ. μηνύματα το βράδυ</i> <i>της Ανάστασης</i> Mobiles: 30 million texts in the evening of Resurrection <sup>5</sup>	N. Moumouris	<i>Ελλάδα</i>	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture

<sup>3</sup> Meaning ‘Without vowels...!!!’ (‘Χωρίς φωνήεντα’)

<sup>4</sup> ‘live’ meaning face-to-face communication



Eleftherotipia	14/10/2003	Εξπέρ στα SMS τα παιδιά μας Our children expert in SMS	NTA.B.	Ελλάδα. Υγεία	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture (and health)
Kathimerini	09/03/2003	«Κράσαρα» και «έκανα φορμά» τον έρωτά μου “I crashed” and “I formatted” my love	P. Christopoulos	Greece – technology Ελλάδα. Τεχνολογία	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	digital culture and language
Kathimerini	14/10/2003	Ασθένειες από το κινητό και... την καρέκλα Diseases from the mobile and.. the chair	P. Bouloutza	Ελλάδα	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture (and health issues)
Kathimerini	01/06/2003	Τελευταίοι στις νέες τεχνολογίες Last in new technologies	M. Delithanasi	Greece – society Ελλάδα. Κοινωνία	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	digital culture
Kathimerini	29/06/2003a	Άλλο τηλεφώνημα, άλλο επικοινωνία Telephone calls are one thing and communication another	M. Cheretakis	περιοδικό Κ	opinion-oriented ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΗ	mobile phone culture
Kathimerini	29/06/2003b	«Όλες οι παρορμήσεις μας ικανοποιούνται» “All our impulses are fulfilled”	T. Stalikas	περιοδικό Κ	opinion-oriented ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΗ	mobile phone culture
Kathimerini	29/06/2003c	Δέκα πράγματα που δεν είναι πια τα ίδια Ten things which are not the same any more	P. Christopoulos	περιοδικό Κ	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture
Kathimerini	29/06/2003d	Τι γιορτάζουν 9.800.000 Έλληνες; (τα γενέθλια του κινητού τους) What do 9800000 Greeks celebrate? (their mobile’s birthday)	M. Danou & Th. Christopoulou	περιοδικό Κ	news-oriented ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ	mobile phone culture
Kathimerini	29/06/2003e	SMS: Η λογοτεχνία της νέας χιλιετίας! SMS: The literature of the new millennium!	M. Santorineos	περιοδικό Κ	opinion-oriented ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΗ	mobile phone culture

<sup>5</sup> The celebration of Easter Sunday in Greece starts at Saturday midnight and is called ‘the evening of Resurrection’.

## APPENDIX II

### Media material



## Τι κερδίζεις με το what's up?

- Κάνεις **chat** χωρίς καλώδια, συνδέσεις και από οποιοδήποτε μέρος
- Έχεις Δωρεάν Αναγνώριση Κλήσεων – για να αποφεύγεις τις κακοτοπιές
- Στέλνεις **Γραπτά Μηνύματα (SMS)** με **κλιμακωτή χρέωση** και άρα όσο πιο πολλά τόσο πιο φθηνά
- Έχεις αυτόματα **Περιγραφή\*** (Roaming) για να σε «συνδεθούν» φίλοι και γνώσται σε κάθε ταξίδι
- Ενήμερωνεσαι για χλιδά δυο πράγματα (από το δέκτη του χρηματιστηρίου μέχρι το πρόγραμμα της τηλεόρασης και από τις «αποδείξεις» των επιωνών μέχρι τις θερμίδες που έχει το φαγητό σου) με τις Υπηρεσίες MyCosmos
- Χάρη στον Προσωπικό σου Τηλεφωνητή, μπορείς όλη μέρα να μαζεύεις μηνύματα έχοντας κλειστά το κινητό σου, και ύστερα να τ' ακούσεις από το δικό σου ή αποθηκεύσεις άλλα τηλέφωνα
- Εξυπηρέτηση Πελατών (1550) που βρίσκεται πάντα στο πλευρό σου
- Γενικές Πληροφορίες COSMOTE – INFO – EXPRESS (1650) σχετικά με το δίκτυο κάλυψης και τις υπηρεσίες της COSMOTE
- Αναλυτική Κατάσταση Κλήσεων για να ξέρεις πού, πότε και πόσο
- Φραγή Κλήσεων
- Τηλέφωνα Πρώτης Ανάγκης χωρίς χρέωση
- Πληροφορίες για αριθμούς τηλεφώνων συνδρομητών τόσο της COSMOTE όσο και του ΟΤΕ, καθώς και άμεση σύνδεση μαζί τους με την COSΜΟΣΥΝΔΕΣΗ (131)

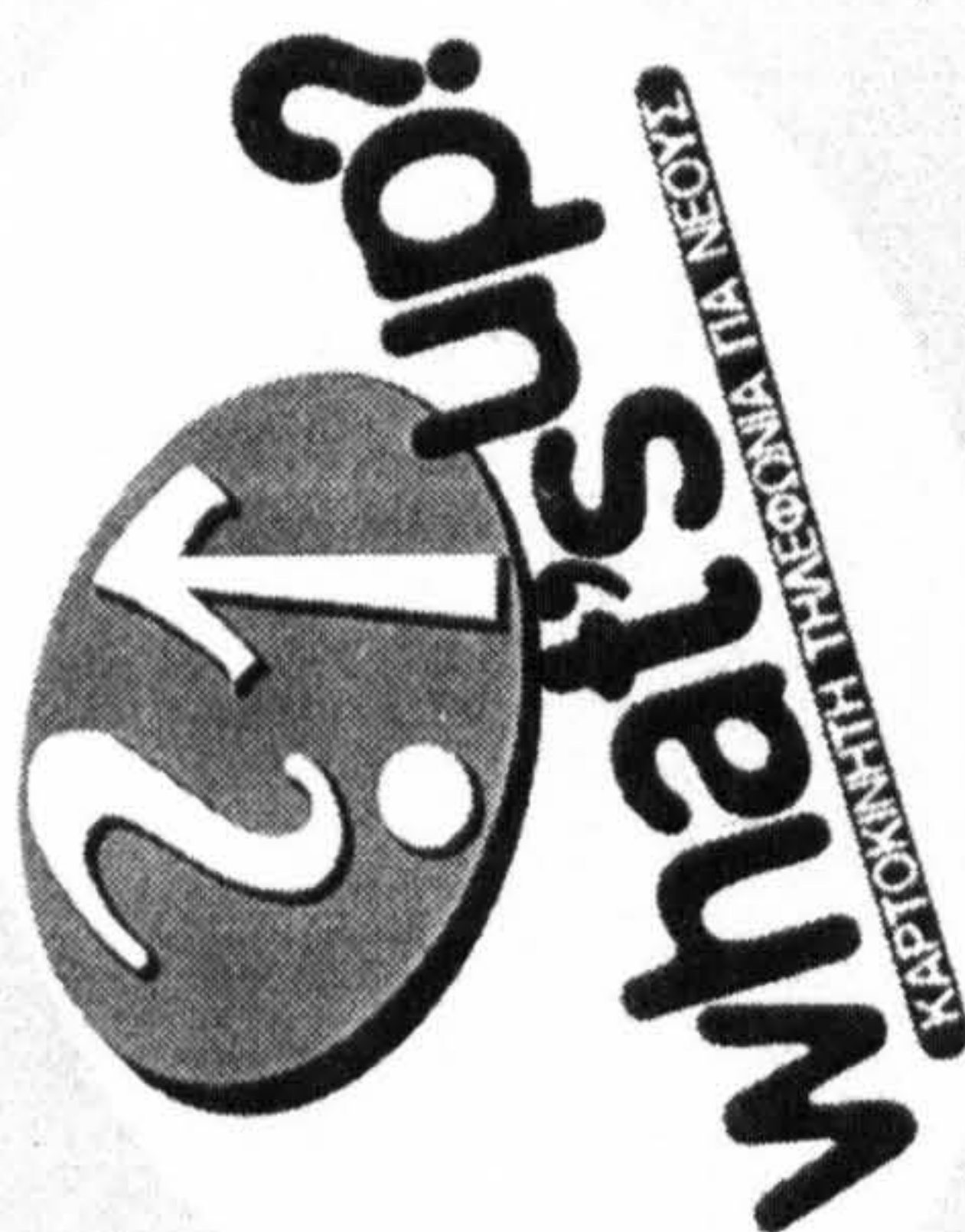
### Και πέρα απ' όλα τα παραπάνω:

- Έχεις δυνατότητα Ανανέωσης του Χρονου Ομιλίας σου με τρεις διαφορετικές κάρτες
- Μπορείς να ελεγχείς ανά πάσα στιγμή το Υπολόγιστο της Κάρτας σου
- Μπορείς να μεταφέρεις το Υπόλοιπο του λογαριασμού σου σε κάποιον άλλο αριθμό τηλεφώνου **what's up?** ή COSΜΟΚΑΡΤΑ συγγενή ή φίλου

\* Έξοδα για τηλεφωνικές κλήσεις και γράμματα περιλαμβανόμενα

## ΚΟΥΤΙ ΣΥΝΔΕΣΗΣ

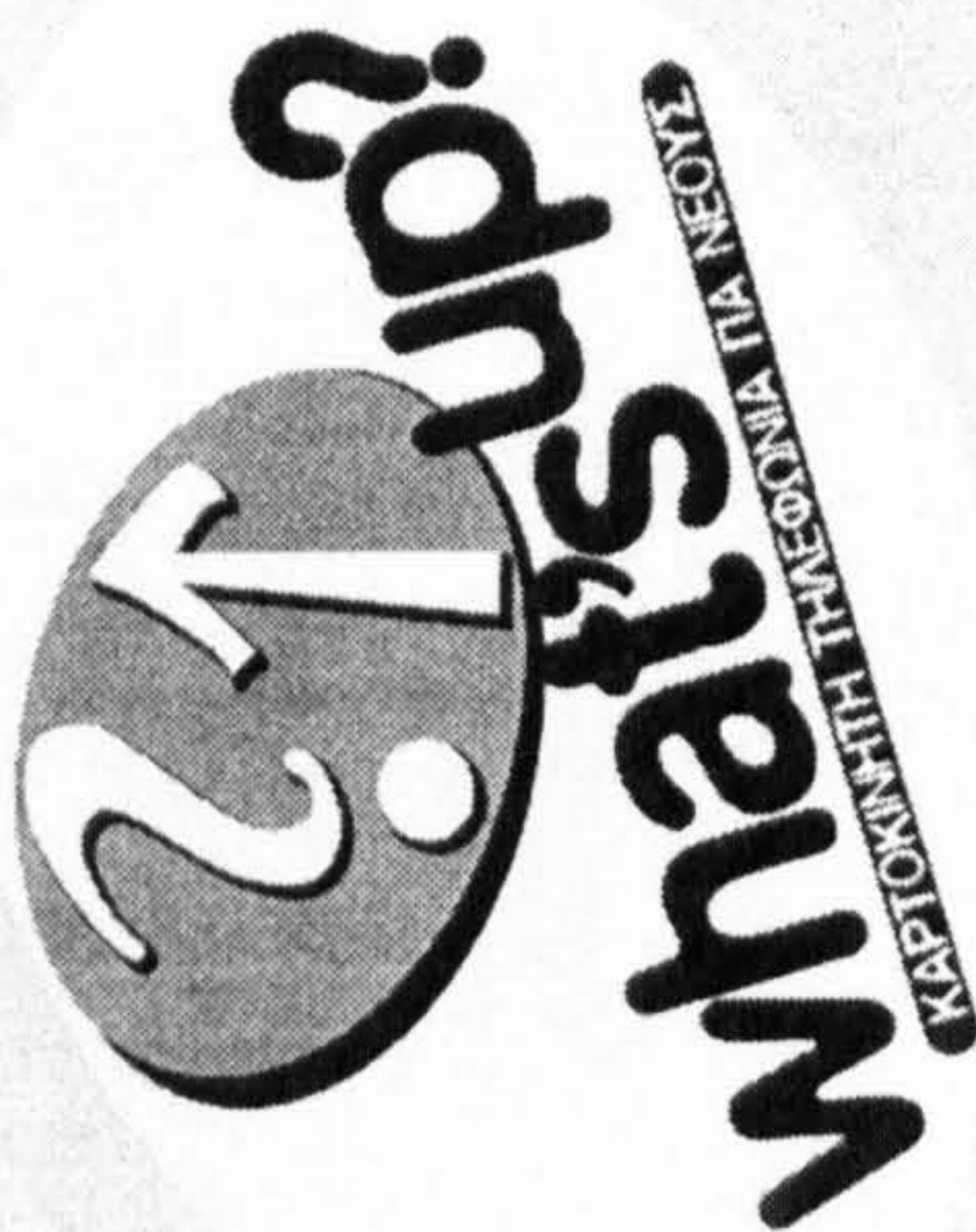
- Η ΠΡΩΤΗ ΚΑΡΤΟΚΙΝΗΤΗ ΜΕ CHAT
- ΚΛΙΜΑΚΩΤΗ ΧΡΕΩΣΗ ΣΤΑ ΓΡΑΠΤΑ ΜΗΝΥΜΑΤΑ
- ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΗ ΚΛΗΣΕΩΝ



από την  
**COSMO**  
ΚΑΡΤΑ

## ΚΟΥΤΙ ΣΥΝΔΕΣΗΣ

- Η ΠΡΩΤΗ ΚΑΡΤΟΚΙΝΗΤΗ ΜΕ CHAT
- ΚΛΙΜΑΚΩΤΗ ΧΡΕΩΣΗ ΣΤΑ ΓΡΑΠΤΑ ΜΗΝΥΜΑΤΑ
- ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΗ ΚΛΗΣΕΩΝ



**COSMOTE**



(reverse side)

Το **what's up?**, η καρτοκινητή τηλεφωνία

για νέους, θα δροσίσει όχι μόνο την επικοινωνία με την παρέα σου, αλλά και τα οικονομικά σου.

Το **what's up?** είναι η πρώτη καρτοκινητή με chat

Έτσι, όπου κι αν είσαι μπορείς να τα «λές»

με την παρέα σου, με γνωστούς κι αγνώστους που έχουν

τα ίδια ενδιαφέροντα μ' εσένα, να μαθαίνεις νέα και

να κάνεις φίλους. Κι ακόμα, με το **what's up?** έχεις

**κλιμακωτή χρέωση στα γραπτά μηνύματα!**

## Chat

Το **what's up?** είναι η πρώτη καρτοκινητή τηλεφωνία με την οποία μπορείς να κάνεις **chat** από το κινητό σου! Κοιτάς ο.π.κ και στο κίβλετ (forums, piczones, κλπ.), αυτή τη φορά όμως χωρίς να χρειάζεσαι PC ούτε Internet Service Provider και το καλύτερο, χωρίς να είσαι κλεισμένος στους τεσσάρους τοίχους.

## Κλιμακωτή χρέωση

Το **what's up?** σου προσφέρει κλιμακωτή χρέωση στα γραπτά μηνύματα (SMS). Στέλνεις μηνύματα για γιορτές, γενέθλια, «καλημέρα», «μην λείπεις», ακόμα και χωρίς λόγο, έτσι για να πεις ένα «γεια»! Με χρέωση που ξεκινάει από 26 δρχ. και φτάνει τις 20 δρχ. έρχονται τα πένω κάτω! More is Less!

## Ανανέωση χρόνου ομιλίας

Κάθε φορά που ανανεώνεις το χρόνο ομιλίας σου συγχρόνως ανανεώνεις τη σύνδεση σου για 12 μήνες.

Για να ανανεώσεις το χρόνο σου, μπορείς να αγοράσεις από το εκτεταμένο δίκτυο πωλησιών της COSMOTE μία από τις τρεις εναλλακτικές Κάρτες Ανανέωσης Χρόνου: ή των 2.500 δρχ. των 74,67 / 5.000 δρχ. ή την οικονομική των 29,35 / 10.000 δρχ. με όριο 2,93 / 1.000 δρχ. επιπλέον χρόνο ομιλίας.

Ακόμη πιο εύκολο, μπορείς να ανανεώσεις το χρόνο ομιλίας του **what's up?** από τη Eurobank με ένα Ευρεάν\* τηλεφώνημα στο Europhone Banking (1144) ή από την Alpha Bank μέσω των ΑΤΜ's της.



## Κουτί σύνδεσης και πακέτα what's up?

Με το κουτί σύνδεσης **what's up?**, που προσφέρεται στην τιμή των 20,25 / 6.900 δρχ., μπορείς να χρησιμοποιήσεις οποιαδήποτε συσκευή και συγχρόνως να χαιρεσάει όλα τα προνόμια και τις νέες υπηρεσίες του.

Αν δεν έχεις η θέλεις να αλλάξεις συσκευή, το **what's up?** σου προτείνει:

MOTOROLA T180	με	€ 87,75 / 29.900 δρχ.
SIEMENS A35	με	€ 102,42 / 34.900 δρχ.
ERICSSON T20e	με	€ 175,79 / 59.900 δρχ.
NOKIA 3310	με	€ 205,14 / 69.900 δρχ.

**Δωρεάν αρχικός χρόνος ομιλίας € 11,74 / 4.000 δρχ.**

## Τιμοκατάλογοι χρεώσεων

Έχεις σκεφτεί ποτέ μια μορφή επικοινωνίας που θα σου επιτρέψει να μιλάς, να ενημερώνεσαι, να στέλνεις μηνύματα και να κάνεις γνωριμιές; Αυτό σου προτείνει το **what's up?**! Και μάλιστα χωρίς να ξοδεύεσαι! Με κλιμακωτή χρέωση στα γραπτά μηνύματα! Πιο αναλυτικά, οι χρεώσεις του **what's up?**:

CHAT	ΓΡΑΠΤΑ ΜΗΝΥΜΑΤΑ
Εισαγωγή διαφήμισης / θέσης	150,00 δρχ.*
Αποστολή μηνύματος Chat in Public Channel	Από 1 λεπτό 100 μηνύματα € 0,06 / μήνυμα ή 24 δρχ. / μήνυμα
Αποστολή μηνύματος chat in Private List ή in One Joint Addressed to Several Friends List	Από 10 λεπτά 250 μηνύματα € 0,07 / μήνυμα ή 24 δρχ. / μήνυμα
Αποστολή μηνύματος chat in Private List ή in One Joint Addressed to Several Friends List	Από 25 λεπτά 100 μηνύματα € 0,06 / μήνυμα ή 22 δρχ. / μήνυμα
	Όλοκληρη σύνδεση € 0,06 / μήνυμα ή 20 δρχ. / μήνυμα

\* 15 λεπτά ανά γραπτό μήνυμα

ΠΡΟΣΟΧΗ: Οι χρεώσεις ομιλίας της υπηρεσίας **what's up?** από τον 12ο μήνα της σύνδεσης σου είναι 20,25 δρχ. / 6.900 δρχ. ανά μήνυμα.

## ΒΑΣΙΚΕΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΕΙΣ

ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑ	ΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΗΣ
ΕΓΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ COSMOTE ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΗ	ΧΡΕΩΣΗ 12 €
COSMOTE / ΟΤΕ / TELECOM / PAMASON	€ 49 / 40 δρχ.
ΑΓΟΡΑΦΗ ΚΑΡΤΕΛΕΣ	€ 49 / 40 δρχ.
ΠΕΡΙΜΕΤΡΟΣ (Roaming)	+ 10% έκπτωση έκτακτων ΟΤΕ
ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΗ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΙΑ (ΑΠΟΔΟΣΗ ΜΗΝΥΜΑΤΩΝ)	0,05 / 40 δρχ.
ΕΞΕΤΗΡΕΤΗΡΗ ΠΕΛΑΤΩΝ (1500)	+ 20% έκπτωση έκτακτων ΟΤΕ
ΓΕΝΙΚΗ ΠΑΡΑΦΟΡΕΤΗ COSMOTE - INFO ΕΡΕΥΡΕΣ (4500)	0,20 / 40 δρχ.
ΑΡΧΙΜΟΝΟ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΑΝΑΜΟΧΗ (10.000 κ.λ.μ.)	ΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΗΣ
COSMOTE/TELECOM (31)	ΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΗΣ
ΑΝΑΓΕΙΝΕΤΕ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΙΑ ΟΤΕ (Ομιλία / Αποκρίση)	ΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΗΣ
ΑΡΧΙΚΗ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΗ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΣ (1500)	ΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΗΣ
ΑΝΑΜΟΧΗ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ / ΕΚΕΤΟΙ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΙΑ (1500)	ΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΗΣ
ΑΝΑΜΟΧΗ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΣ ΕΥΡΩΦΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΑΜΕΣΗΣ (1144)	ΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΗΣ
ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΙΑΣ ΣΕ ΑΛΛΟ ΚΙΝΗΤΟ	1,47
ΕΚΔΟΣΗ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΓΛΙΣΤΗ ΕΥΡΕΣΕΩΝ	2,20
ΑΓΓΛΙΚΑ/ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΡΤΑ/ΣΗΜ	11,74
	4.000

\* 15 λεπτά ανά γραπτό μήνυμα



# @ here

Μία από τις πιο ευχάριστες εκηλύξεις στην ιστορία της κινητής τηλεφωνίας ήταν ο τρόπος με τον οποίο οι νέοι (15-25 χρόνων) ανακάλυψαν τις δυνατότητες της τεχνολογίας και τις χρησιμοποίησαν για να έχουν καλύτερη επικοινωνία και οικονομία, αλλά με το δικό τους στυλ.

Το πιο χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αυτής της διαφορετικής αντίληψης και δημιουργικής αντιμετώπισης των νέων, ήταν η ανάδειξη των **Σύντομων Γραπτών Μηνυμάτων σε Κατεξοχήν Επικοινωνιακό τους μέσο.**

Έτσι μετέτρεψαν την κινητή τηλεφωνία σε **κινητή επικοινωνία**, προς μεγάλη χαρά των ιδίων για τη διασκέδαση που τους προσέφερε αυτός ο νέος τρόπος επικοινωνίας, αλλά και της τάξης τους, καθώς τα SMS είναι **πολύ πιο οικονομικά.**

Σας αρέσει να ψάχνετε συνέχεια. Παρακολουθείτε τι παίζεται, κυκλοφορείτε ποδή και είστε μέσα σε ό,τι κάνει η παρέα - πάντα όμως κρατάτε το δικό σας στυλ!

Το CU είναι το σύστημα επικοινωνίας που ακολουθεί το ρυθμό σας - όπου κι αν είστε, ό,τι κι αν κάνετε! Είναι μια νέα φάση στην επικοινωνία που σας δίνει ό,τι χρειάζεστε για να τα έχετε με την παρέα σας, χαλαρά χωρίς να δίνετε... υπερβολική αξία σε κάθε λέξη!

Στον οδηγό ενημέρωσης CU SMS, με περιεχόμενο από το pan.gr, περιλαμβάνονται προτάσεις και σχόλια για τη βραδυνή έξοδο, πρεμιέρες, σχόλια και αίθουσες για τον κινηματογράφο, προτάσεις για το θέατρο και την τηλεόραση, αθλητικά νέα, σχόλια της κοινωνικής ζωής και το ελληνικό και ξένο μουσικό Top 5.



• δωρεάν αναγνώριση κλήσεων - I can CU.

• Η χαμηλότερη χρέωση στα γραπτά μηνύματα (26 δρχ).

• προηγμένη κάρτα SIM, με ενσωματωμένο εύχρηστο μενού των υπηρεσιών και μεγαλύτερη μνήμη για μηνύματα και ονόματα.

• χαμηλή χρέωση στις κλήσεις μεταξύ των χρηστών CU (1.4 δρχ./δευτερόλεπτο).

• δωρεάν σύνδεση στο Internet με την PANAFONET (στα Πακέτα με συσκευή και στα Πακέτα Σύνδεσης των 6.000 δρχ.) και δωρεάν ανανέωση της συνδρομής στην PANAFONET ανάλογα με τη χρήση του CU.

• αποκλειστική υπηρεσία CU SMS σε συνεργασία με το πρωτοποριακό Portal pan.gr. Με ενημέρωση και πληροφορίες για κάθε τι ενδιαφέρον που συμβαίνει.

**ΣΥΣΤΗΜΑ  
ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ  
ΜΕ ΚΑΡΤΑ**

**PANAFON**

• Πακέτο με συσκευή SIEMENS M35i στην τιμή των 74.900 δρχ. με 1.000 δρχ. δωρεάν χρόνο ομιλίας και τρίμηνη δωρεάν σύνδεση στην PANAFONET.

• Πακέτο σύνδεσης στην τιμή των 5.000 δρχ. με 1.000 δρχ. δωρεάν χρόνο ομιλίας.

• Πακέτο σύνδεσης στην τιμή των 6.000 δρχ. με 1.000 δρχ. δωρεάν χρόνο ομιλίας και δωρεάν μηνιαία σύνδεση στην PANAFONET.

Για περισσότερες πληροφορίες καλέστε το 1640 (χωρίς χρέωση) ή απευθυνθείτε στον εμπορικό σας συνεργάτη.



## Τι κερδίζεις με το WHAT'S UP

- Κάνεις chat από οποιοδήποτε μέρος, χωρίς καλώδια και συνδέσεις
- Έχεις δωρεάν Αναγνώριση Κλήσεων - για να αποφεύγεις τις κακοτοπιές
- Στέλνεις Γραπτά Μηνύματα (SMS) με κλιμακωτή χρέωση και άρα όσο πιο πολλά, τόσο πιο φθηνά
- Έχεις αυτόματα Περιγραφή\* (Roaming) για να σε «συννοείουν» φίλοι και γνωστοί σε κάθε ταξίδι
- Κατεβάζεις όσα ringtones ή logos θέλεις στο κινητό σου με ένα γραπτό μήνυμα
- Ενημερώνεσαι για χίλια δυο πράγματα από αθλητικά νέα μέχρι το πρόγραμμα της τηλεόρασης και τις «πατάξες» των επικοινωνιών
- Χάρη στον Προσωπικό σου Τηλεφωνητή, μπορείς όλη μέρα να μαζεύεις μηνύματα έχοντας κλειστό το κινητό σου, και ύστερα να τ' ακούσεις από το δικό σου ή απευθείας από άλλο τηλέφωνο
- Εξυπηρέτηση Πελάτων (1550) που βρίσκεται πάντα στο πλευρό σου
- Αναλυτική Κατάσταση Κλήσεων για να ξέρεις πού, πότε και πόσο
- Φοργή Κλήσεων
- Πληροφορίες για αριθμούς τηλεφώνων συνδρομητών τόσο της COSMOTE όσο και του ΟΤΕ, καθώς και άμεσα σύνδεση μαζί τους με την COSMOΣΥΝΔΕΣΗ (131)

Και πέρα απ' όλα τα παραπάνω:

- Το ενεργοποιείς αυτόματα με το πρώτο τηλεφώνημα
- Έχεις δυνατότητα Ανανέωσης του Χρόνου Ομιλίας σου με τρεις διαφορετικές κάρτες
- Μπορείς να ελέγξεις ανά πάσα στιγμή το Υπόλοιπο της Κάρτας σου (χωρίς χρέωση)
- Μπορείς να μεταφέρεις το Υπόλοιπο του λογαριασμού σου σε κάποιο άλλο καρτοκινητό COSMOTE συγγενή ή φίλου
- Έχεις τη δυνατότητα, μετά από ένα μήνα, να εγγραφείς ως συνδρομητής σε πρόγραμμα συμβολαίου της COSMOTE, διατηρώντας τον ίδιο αριθμό τηλεφώνου

\* Ισχύει για επερχόμενες κλήσεις και γραπτά μηνύματα




# Open your mouth

-18%

και χαμηλότερες χρεώσεις για κλήσεις προς ΟΤΕ και COSMOTE

κλιμακωτές χρεώσεις στα γραπτά μηνύματα

Ισχύουν για παλιούς και νέους κατόχους

**ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΙΚΑ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΑ**

**Αθήνα:** Α. Κρηφίδας 44, 151 25 Μαρούσι, Τηλ: 210-61.77.423  
 Α. Κρηφίδας 8, 166 75 Γλυφάδα, Τηλ: 210-99.85.565  
 Μ. Αντωνίου 90, 141 21 Ν. Ηρόδοτος, Τηλ: 210-27.04.500  
 Ακαδημίας 434, 111 43 Αθήνα, Τηλ: 210-25.01.434  
 Πατισσινίου 61, 105 64 Αθήνα, Τηλ: 210-33.16.981  
**Πειραιάς:** Γ. Λαμπρόπου 140, 185 35, Τηλ: 210-41.90.280  
**Θεσσαλονίκη:** Ελ. Βενιζέλου 15, 546 24, Τηλ: 2310-256.000  
 Ερμού 7, 551 34 Κολοκορά, Τηλ: 2310-438.000  
**Κρήνη:** Διακορύφης 67-69, 712 02 Ηράκλειο, Τηλ: 2810-333.198  
**Πάτρα:** Ερμού 4 & Αρ. Ανδρού 49, 262 21 Πατρά, Τηλ: 2610-240.111

**ΟΤΕ**  
 Καταστήματα ΟΤΕ σε όλη την Ελλάδα  
 Τηλ: 210-60.52.004

**ΑΛΤΙΟΜΙ**  
 Ευαγγελίου 47 & Κωνσταντίνου 113 62 Αθήνα  
 Τηλ: 210-82.04.330 Fax: 210-82.04.320

**G**  
 23ο χλμ. Εθν. Οδού Αθηνών-Λορέας, 145 65 Αρ. Σιταρών  
 Τηλ: 210-62.19.300 Fax: 210-62.18.955

**Αλκατελόν**  
 Α. Βουλγαρίδου 62, 167 77 Βελιγιάδα  
 Τηλ: 210-96.91.650 Fax: 210-94.91.586

**net**  
 Αρ. Θεμιστ. 27, 151 24 Παράδεισος Αμμουδιάς  
 Τηλ: 210-61.80.268-9 Fax: 210-61.80.267

**πλάνος**  
 Παδέρου 5 & Χλούς, 144 32 Μεταμόρφωση  
 Τηλ: 210-28.92.000 Fax: 210-28.92.289

**SAMTO**  
 12ο χλμ. Εθν. Οδού Αθηνών-Λορέας, 144 51 Μεταμόρφωση  
 Τηλ: 210-28.94.573 Fax: 210-28.94.703-4

**SPACE**  
 Α. Αμυράδης 58, Συγγρού, 171 22 Ν. Σμύρνη  
 Τηλ: 210-94.94.800 Fax: 210-94.94.800

Α. Κρηφίδας 44, 151 25, Μαρούσι • <http://www.cosmote.gr>



(reverse side)

# Έχουμε και λέμε!

Χρησιμοποιώντας στην επικοινωνία με την παρέα σου WHAT'S UP, έχεις **και κλιμακωτές χρεώσεις**

στα γραπτά μηνύματα **και 18% χαμηλότερες χρεώσεις** για κλήσεις προς ΟΤΕ, COSMOTE και άλλα σταθερά δίκτυα.

Έτσι, όπου κι αν είσαι μπορείς να τα «λές» γραπτά και προφορικά με την παρέα σου, με γνωστούς κι αγνώστους που έχουν τα ίδια ενδιαφέροντα με εσένα, να μαθαίνεις νέα και να κάνεις φίλους.

## Chat

Το WHAT'S UP είναι η πρώτη καρτοκινητή τηλεφωνία με την οποία μπορείς να κάνεις chat από το κινητό σου! Ισχύει ό,τι και στο internet (rooms, nicknames, κλπ.), αυτή τη φορά, όμως, χωρίς να χρειάζεται PC ούτε Internet Service Provider και το κυριότερο, χωρίς να είσαι κλεισμένος στους τέσσερις τοίχους.

## Κλιμακωτή χρέωση

Το WHAT'S UP σου προσφέρει κλιμακωτή χρέωση στα γραπτά μηνύματα (SMS). Στείλε μηνύματα για γιορτές, γενέθλια, «καλημέρα», «μου λείπεις», ακόμα και χωρίς λόγο, έτσι, για να πεις ένα «γεια»!

Με χρεώσεις που ξεκινούν από €0,080 και φτάνουν τις €0,065 έρχονται τα πάνω κάτω: More is Less!

## Κουτί σύνδεσης WHAT'S UP

Με το κουτί σύνδεσης WHAT'S UP, μπορείς να χρησιμοποιήσεις οποιαδήποτε συσκευή GSM 1800 ή DUAL BAND και συγχρόνως να χaireσαι όλα τα προνόμια



**ΤΙΜΗ: € 14,99**

ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΣ € 6

## Ανανέωση χρόνου ομιλίας

Κάθε φορά που ανανεώνεις το χρόνο ομιλίας σου συγχρόνως ανανεώνεις τη σύνδεσή σου για 12 μήνες από την τελευταία ανανέωση χρόνου ομιλίας.

Για να ανανεώσεις το χρόνο σου, μπορείς να αγοράσεις από το εκτεταμένο δίκτυο πωλήσεων της COSMOTE μία από τις τρεις εναλλακτικές Κάρτες Ανανέωσης Χρόνου: των €7, των €15 ή την οικονομική των €30 με δώρο €3 επιπλέον χρόνο ομιλίας.

Ακόμη πιο εύκολα, μπορείς να ανανεώσεις το χρόνο ομιλίας του WHAT'S UP από τη Eurobank με ένα δωρεάν τηλεφώνημα στο Europhone Banking (1144) ή από την Alpha Bank μέσω των ΑΤΜs της.

Σε όλες τις ημερές συμπληρώνονται 01.11.2002

## Τιμοκατάλογοι χρεώσεων

Έχεις όρεξη; Πότε μια μορφή επικοινωνίας που θα σου επιτρέπει να μιλάς, να ενημερώνεσαι, να στέλνεις μηνύματα και να κάνεις γνωριμιές;

Αυτό σου προτείνει το WHAT'S UP! Και μάλιστα χωρίς να ξεδεύσεις! Με κλιμακωτή χρέωση στα γραπτά μηνύματα και 18% χαμηλότερες χρεώσεις για κλήσεις προς ΟΤΕ, COSMOTE και άλλα σταθερά δίκτυα.

Πιο αναλυτικά, οι χρεώσεις του WHAT'S UP:

ΓΡΑΠΤΑ ΜΗΝΥΜΑΤΑ		CHAT
SMS ΜΗΛΑ*	ΧΡΕΩΣΗ	ΕΠΙΔΕΙΞΕΙΣ / ΧΡΕΩΣΗ
Από 1 μέχρι 100 μηνύματα	€0,080 / μήνυμα	Αποστολή μηνύματος chat σε P.A.B. 1800
Από 101 μέχρι 250 μηνύματα	€0,075 / μήνυμα	Αποστολή μηνύματος chat σε Friends list ή σε ένα μόνο αποδέκτη
Από 251 μέχρι 500 μηνύματα	€0,070 / μήνυμα	Αποστολή μηνύματος chat σε Friends list
Πάνω από 500 μηνύματα	€0,065 / μήνυμα	Αποστολή μηνύματος chat σε Friends list

\* Η βάση των μηνυμάτων είναι 160 χαρακτήρες. Οι μηνύματα που υπερβαίνουν τα 160 χαρακτήρες, στέλνονται ως 2 μηνύματα.

ΤΙΜΟΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΕΩΝ: Οι χρεώσεις που αναφέρονται στο τιμολόγιο, είναι οι χρεώσεις που ισχύουν για την παροχή υπηρεσιών WHAT'S UP. Οι χρεώσεις που αναφέρονται στο τιμολόγιο, είναι οι χρεώσεις που ισχύουν για την παροχή υπηρεσιών WHAT'S UP. Οι χρεώσεις που αναφέρονται στο τιμολόγιο, είναι οι χρεώσεις που ισχύουν για την παροχή υπηρεσιών WHAT'S UP.

## ΒΑΣΙΚΕΣ ΧΡΕΩΣΕΙΣ

ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑ	ΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΗΣ
ΚΛΗΘΗ ΑΠΟ COSMOTE ΠΡΟΣ: COSMOTE/ΟΤΕ	€0,0067 / δειλ.
ΑΛΛΑ ΣΤΑΘΕΡΑ ΔΙΚΤΥΑ	€0,0067 / δειλ.
TELESTET / VOICEMAIL / Q - TELECOM MOBILE	€0,0067 / δειλ.
ALBANIAN MOBILE COMMUNICATIONS (+355 68)	€0,0067 / δειλ. + εθν. δίκτυο Κόστα ΟΤΕ
ΑΟΡΤΕΣ ΔΙΕΘΝΕΙΣ ΚΑΛΕΣΕΙΣ	€0,0067 / δειλ. + εθν. δίκτυο Κόστα ΟΤΕ
ΠΕΡΙΟΔΩΤΗ ALBANIAN MOBILE COMMUNICATIONS	€0,0067 / δειλ. + εθν. δίκτυο Κόστα ΟΤΕ
ΠΕΡΙΟΔΩΤΗ (ROMANIA) ΑΟΡΤΑ ΔΙΚΤΥΑ	€0,0067 / δειλ. + εθν. δίκτυο Κόστα ΟΤΕ
ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΟΣ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΗΤΗΣ (ΑΠΡΟΣΩΠΗ ΜΗΝΥΜΑΤΩΝ)	€0,0067 / δειλ.
COSMOSYNΔΕΣΗ (131)*	€0,0067 / δειλ.
ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΣΗ ΚΑΡΤΕΣ	€0,0067 / δειλ.
ΕΞΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣΗ (1144)	€0,0067 / δειλ.
ΕΝΔΕΙΞΗ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ / ΕΝΔΕΙΞΗ ΥΠΟΛΟΓΟΥ (1151)	€0,0067 / δειλ.

\* Η βάση των μηνυμάτων είναι 160 χαρακτήρες. Οι μηνύματα που υπερβαίνουν τα 160 χαρακτήρες, στέλνονται ως 2 μηνύματα.



# ΤΙ ΓΙΟΡΤΑΖΟΥΝ 9.800.000 ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ; (τα γενέθλια του κινητού τους)

Τριάντα χρόνια από την πρώτη κλήση μέσω κινητού τηλεφώνου, είκοσι από την κατασκευή της πρώτης συσκευής που κυκλοφόρησε στο εμπόριο, δέκα από την εμφάνιση του κινητού στην Ελλάδα: τρεις επέτειοι για το τεχνολογικό φαινόμενο που άλλαξε τη ζωή μας.

**T**

ι κοινό έχουν ένας φυλακισμένος, ένας βουλευτής, ένας οδηγός, μια μαθήτρια στην τάξη και ένα στέλεχος σε σύσκεψη; Όλοι θέλουν να μιλήσουν στο κινητό, αλλά δεν τους επιτρέπεται. Επίσης, όλοι τελικώς μιλάνε. Μπορεί να τους κοστίσει ένα καψόνι, μια επίπληξη, μια κλήση ή μια αποβολή, αλλά αυτοί το κάνουν. Και ξέρετε γιατί; Γιατί είναι όλοι εθισμένοι... Κολλημένοι με το κινητό.

Προσπαθήστε να θυμηθείτε τη ζωή σας πριν από τα κινητά. Τότε που όταν πηγαίνατε να πάρετε κάποιον από το σπίτι του, κορνάρατε ή βγαίνατε από το αυτοκίνητο για να χτυπήσετε το κουδούνι. Τότε που περιμένατε με τις ώρες στη γωνία του Μπακάκου χωρίς να έχετε καταλάβει ότι το ραντεβού σας στέκεται στην απέναντι γωνία. Τότε που στο μπιουτιλιάρισμα της Κηφισίας μόνη σας παρηγοριά ήταν το ραδιόφωνο και η παρατήρηση των γύρω οδηγών. Τότε που στις 3 τα ξημερώματα ό,τι κι αν σας συνέβαινε, ό,τι κι αν θέλατε να εξομολογηθείτε, να μοιραστείτε ή να αποκαλύψετε έπρε-

Ρεπορτάζ:  
**Μανίνα Ντάνου**  
**Θεανώ Χριστοπούλου**  
Εικονογράφηση:  
**Σίσσυ Βιτζιλαίου**



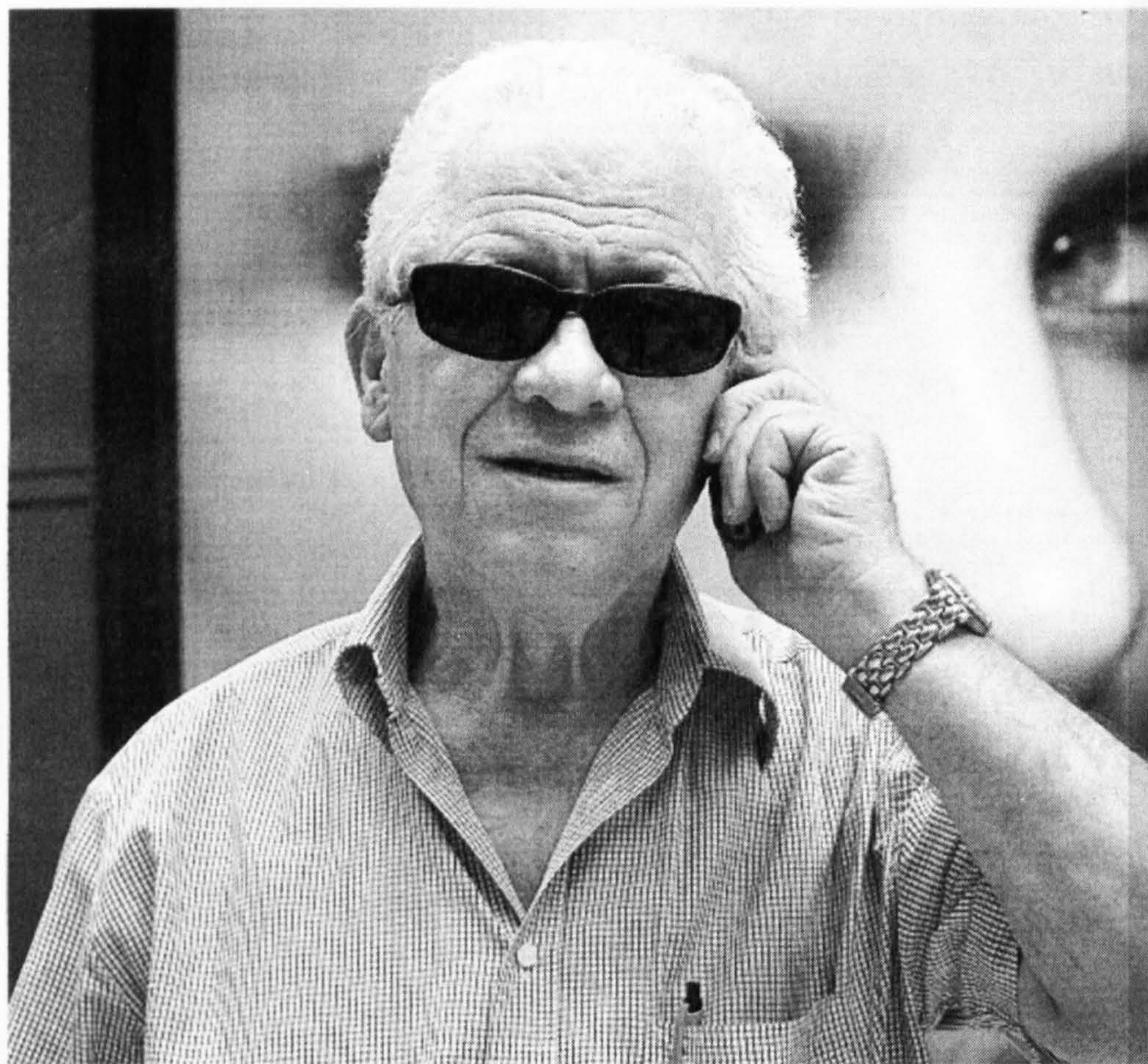


2/3/6/03



K 23





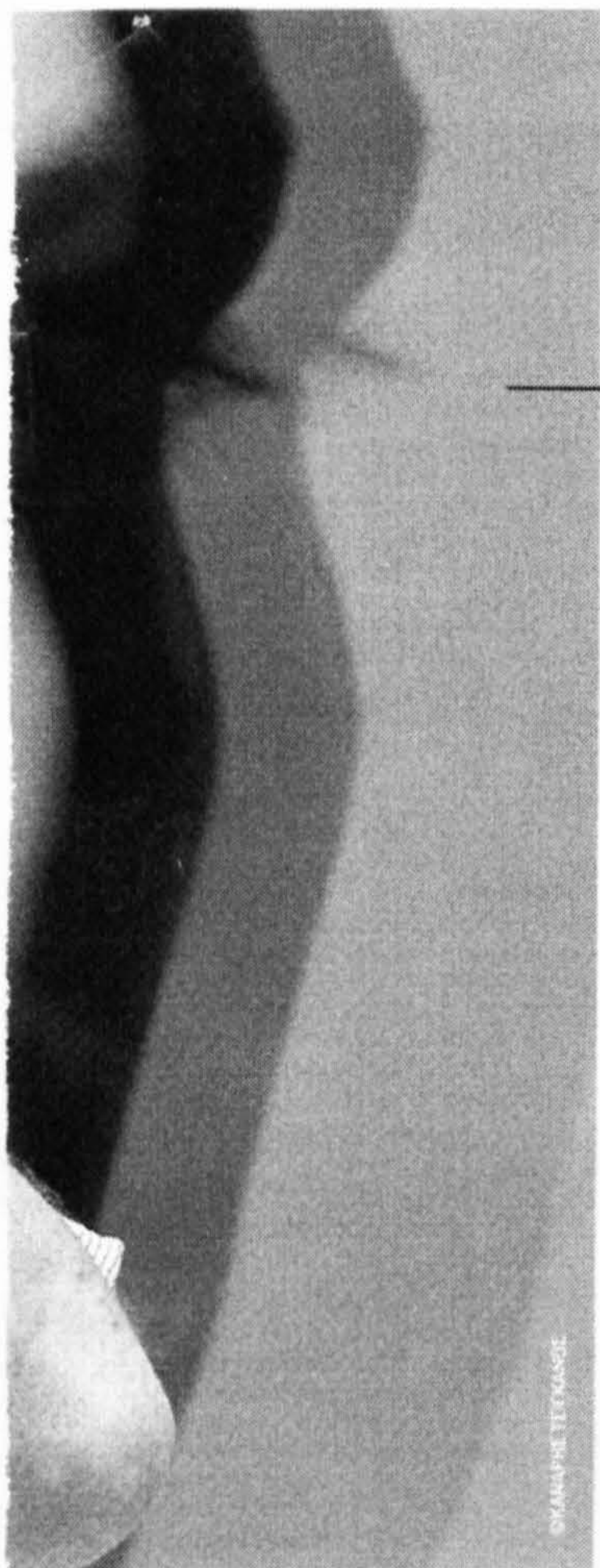
πε να περιμένει μέχρι τον άλλο μέρα το πρωί. Τότε που κάποιες ώρες -στη διαδρομή από τη δουλειά, στη διάρκεια μιας συσκευής, σε μια επικοινωνία, μια έλδο ή ένα ταξίδι- έχετε απλώς... μη προσβόσιμος. Αυτές οι εποχές έχουν περάσει ανεπιστρεπτή.

Σήμερα -10 χρόνια μετά την κυκλοφορία του πρώτου κινητού στην Ελλάδα- στη χώρα των 10 εκατομμυρίων και κάτι κατοίκων κυκλοφορούν 9,8 εκατομμύρια κινητά τηλέφωνα! Κάθε τμήμα οι χρήστες αυξανόταν περίπου κατά 300.000, ενώ καθ' ύλην αποκτούμε 2 εκατομμύρια κανονικές συσκευές. Οι 40 στους 100 αλλάζουν συσκευές ενώ έχουν ήδη κινητό, ενώ οι 35 στους 100 μετακινούνται από εταιρεία σε εταιρεία μόνο και μόνο για να πάρουν νέα συσκευή. Το κινητό μας είναι μεγαλύτερη τριμμήνη κι από τα αυτοκίνητά μας. Αναζητούμε το νεότερο μοντέλο, το αναβαθμίζουμε, το επιδεινούμε,

λέει πράγματα για μας, για το στιλ, το χαρακτήρα και την οικονομική μας κατάσταση. Μας εννοείζει παντού μαζί με τα κλειδιά και τα τσιγάρα μας, κόβεται απορακτικά κομμάτι ανάμεσα στους καφέδες και στις παρτοκυλάδες στο τραπέζι της καφετέριας, ο αριθμός του βρίσκεται αποθηκευμένος σε δεκάδες άλλες συσκευές, κοιτάζει με το εγχειρίδιο μας τραγουδι, έχει στην οθόνη του την ομάδα, το παρτσούκι ή τη φωτογραφία του έρωτά μας.

Αποφύγετε δε να κλέψουμε το «αλκοολό» μας, ακόμη και όταν πιασεί. Πραγματική επανάσταση έφερε στα Βοσλά η απόφαση του προέδρου κ. Απόστολου Κακλαμάνη να απαγορευτεί τα κινητά στην αίθουσα του Κοινοβουλίου. Αλλά πώς να μιλήσεις για τον προπολογοφόρό υπό τους ήχους της Ντότσας Θεοδορίδου, του «σε/σε/ σε/πώς έγινε εσύ/ φύλαση τρελή» και του τελευταίου σοφού του Γρηγόρη και της Φωτει-





ΟΡΑΜΑΡΗ ΤΕΛΕΜΑΣΕ

## Γιάννης, 68 ετών

Έχετε κάρτα ή σύνδεση; Σύνδεση. Πόσο καιρό έχετε κινητό; Από τότε που βγήκαν στην αγορά. Πόσα περίπου ξοδεύετε το μήνα; Γύρω στα 90 - 100 ευρώ. Το θεωρείτε απαραίτητο; Για τη δουλειά μου φυσικά. Άλλωστε πρέπει να ακολουθούμε την εξέλιξη. Θεωρείτε ότι είναι ακριβός αυτός ο τρόπος επικοινωνίας; Είναι αρκετά λογικές οι τιμές του. Κάθε πότε αλλάζετε συσκευή; Έχω αλλάξει τρεις φορές, κυρίως επειδή χαλούσαν. Δίνετε σημασία στη μόδα για την επιλογή του κινητού σας; Όχι. Πιστεύετε ότι είναι εύκολο στη χρήση; Ναι, πάρα πολύ. Μηνύματα στέλνετε; Όχι.

νής του Fame Story; Επίσης, πόσες φορές πρέπει να ακούσουμε το «Αχ κορίτσι μου» να ντριντρινίζει στο σινεμά, στο θέατρο, σε ένα γάμο ή χειρότερα... μια κηδεία; Πολλές οι θρυλικές ιστορίες. Σε μια θεατρική παράσταση στο Λονδίνο με πρωταγωνιστή τον Κέβιν Σπίσι, χτύπησε το κινητό ενός θεατή. Ο ηθοποιός διέκοψε την παράσταση και είπε χαμογελάοντας: «Πες του ότι είμαστε απασχολημένοι αυτήν τη στιγμή»...

Και βέβαια το κινητό έχει συμμετάσχει σε ατελείωτες κομπίνες. Στις φυλακές τα κινητά τυπικώς απαγορεύονται, αλλά κυκλοφορούν, καθώς μέσω αυτών τα «καλά παιδιά» βρίσκουν την ευκαιρία να τρομοκρατούν μάρτυρες, να ελέγχουν αν οι γυναίκες τους παραμένουν πιστές, να κλείνουν δουλειές και να ρυθμίζουν λεπτομέρειες. Σε εξετάσεις και διαγωνισμούς τα κινητά ως εκσυγχρονισμένο «σκονάκι» έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί για να μεταδίδουν τις απαντήσεις, ενώ η κατά λάθος κλήση κάποιου προσφάτως κληθέντος αριθμού, το εκτεθειμένο αρχείο των μηνυμάτων και το κλείσιμο της συσκευής σε ώρες που δεν είναι αναμενόμενο έχουν... «κάψει» πολύ κόσμο.

Πλέον, η εξοικείωσή μας έχει μεταφέρει την ορολογία τους στο καθημερινό μας λεξιλόγιο. «Η κλήση μου προωθείται», λέμε όταν κάποιος δεν μας δίνει σημασία και «η σύνδεση δεν

είναι εφικτή» όταν κάποιος είναι αφηρημένος. Ταυτοχρόνως, έχει γίνει φόρουμ για τα πιο πρόσφατα ανέκδοτα που κυκλοφορούν, ενώ συχνά είναι το ίδιο αιτία για χιούμορ. Στην ουρά της τράπεζας ένα κινητό χτυπάει για ώρα στο ρυθμό των Η-5 χωρίς ο κατόχος του να συγκινείται. Μια φωνή από το βάθος λύνει τη σιωπή: «Θα το σηκώσεις ή θα το χορέψουμε»;

## ΤΟ ΚΙΝΗΤΟ ΜΑΣ - ΣΕ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΥΣ

**4.000 δολάρια:** τόσο κόστιζε το πρώτο κινητό που κυκλοφόρησε στην αγορά το 1983, το Dynatac 8000 της Motorola.

**800 γραμμάρια:** ήταν το βάρος του Dynatac 8000.

**100 γραμμάρια:** ζυγίζουν σήμερα τα περισσότερα κινητά.

**284 εκατομμύρια:** τόσοι είναι οι συνδρομητές κινητής τηλεφωνίας σήμερα στην Ευρώπη. Η διείσδυσή της στην Ε.Ε. φτάνει το 75%.

**9,8 εκατομμύρια:** είναι τα κινητά που κυκλοφορούν στην Ελλάδα.

**78%:** υπολογίζει η Εθνική Επιτροπή Τηλεφωνίας τη διείσδυση της κινητής τηλεφωνίας στη χώρα.

**2 εκατομμύρια:** οι καινούργιες συσκευές που αποκτήμα ετησίως.

**12 εκατομμύρια:** τόσα SMS στέλνουμε καθημερινά μόνο στην Ελλάδα.

**30 εκατομμύρια:** ...Χριστός Ανέστη μέσω SMS αυτό το Πάσχα.

**360 εκατ. ευρώ:** ξοδεύουμε μόνο για SMS κάθε χρόνο.

**29 εκατομμύρια:** τόσα SMS εστάλησαν την Πρωτοχρονιά του 2003.

**3,2 δισ. ευρώ:** ο τζίρος των εταιρειών κινητής τηλεφωνίας το 2002.

**15% - 20%:** η προοπτική αύξησης του τζίρου αυτού.

**90 λεπτά:** ο μέσος όρος μηνιαίας χρήσης στην Ελλάδα.

**29 ευρώ:** ο μέσος όρος μηνιαίου εσόδου των εταιρειών κινητής τηλεφωνίας στην Ελλάδα από τον κάθε χρήστη.

**12.000:** τόσα MMS στέλνουμε καθημερινά στην Ελλάδα.



## ΔΕΚΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΠΟΥ ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΙΑ ΤΑ ΙΔΙΑ:

### 1 Τι ξέρουν οι άλλοι για μας

Περισσότερο απ' όσα θα θέλαμε να ξέρουν. Επειτα από πέντε λεπτά συνομιλίας σε δημόσιο χώρο, ακόμη και ο πιο κρυφένος έχει αποκαλύψει σε όσους βρίσκονται γύρω του τι δουλειά κάνει, από τι συνιστάβηματα είναι κυριευμένος εκείνη τη στιγμή, πόσο περιζήτητος είναι ή πόσο ενασχλητικός μπορεί να γίνει...

### 2 Η πρώτη φράση μιας συνομιλίας

Δεν είναι πια το «καλημέρα». Έχει αντικατασταθεί από ένα επιτακτικό «πιά είσαι!». Είναι τόσο συχνή η εμφάνιση αυτής της μικρής καθημερινής ανάκρισης που πλέον χρησιμοποιείται - από συνήθεια και χωρίς καμία λογική - ακόμη και όταν καλούμε σε σταθερό τηλέφωνο.

### 3 Η απιστία

Έχει γίνει πια υψηλή τέχνη. Όσα πονηράς και να 'ναι ο μοιχός ή η μοιχαλίσ, έχει να αντιμετωπίσει μια σειρά από εμπόδια που εμφανίζονται με τη μορφή ανεπιθύμητων SMS, ανακριτικών κλήσεων πριν τη νόχτα, οδικοίπται ανεπιθύμητων στο αρχείο και στην τηλεφωνική ατζέντα της συσκευής του ή στον αναλυτικό λογαριασμό που λαμβάνει στο τέλος του μήνα. Η προφανής λύση, να κρατάει το τηλέφωνο κλειστό, συνήθως προκαλεί ακόμη περισσότερες υποψίες...

### 4 Ο ρυθμός και η διάρκεια ενός τηλεφωνήματος

Συνεπτήσεις που διαρκούν ελάχιστα δευτερόλεπτα με τους συνομιλητές να μιλούν με φρενήρεις ρυθμούς, εκκινώντας από πριν έτοιμα όσα θέλουν να πουν. Μια συνήθεια που έχει τις ρίζες της στην πρώιμη εποχή της χρήσης των κινητών, όταν ακόμη το κόστος μιας κλήσης ήταν τεράστιο, αλλά που εμφανίζεται το ίδιο συχνά και σήμερα, ειδικά αν είστε χρήστης καρτοκινητού και τελειώνουν οι μισό-δες.

### 5 Ο χρόνος εργασίας

Το κινητό επέφερε τα θάνατο του οκτώωρου. Προ δεκαετίας το κάθε πρόβλημα που πιθανόν θα προέκυπτε μετά την αποχώρηση του υπαλλήλου από το γραφείο, θα έβρισκε λύση αναγκαστικά το επόμενο πρωί. Σήμερα, ο υπάλληλος οφείλει να «έχει» το κινητό του ανοικτό, μίας και προκύψει κάτι...

### 6 Το ραντεβού

Η χρήση της «ανεπιθύμητης», η συνήθεια να τηλεφωνούμε από το δρόμο («τώρα στρίβω στην Αλεξάνδρου») και η λυτρωτική κλήση μέσα στο χαμό, όταν το σημείο συνάντησης είναι κάποιο πολυπληθές μέρος, έχουν σκεπάσει να απολλάξουν το ραντεβού από το άγχος της καθυστέρησης. Ωστόσο, η επαφή μέσω τηλεφώνου όση ώρα ο άλλος μας περιμένει, μας έχει κάνει περισσότερα απενεργεί - ενώ έχει κοβεί κι εκείνο το όμορφο άγχος ενός ραντεβού που έχει εκκρωθεί χωρίς ο ένας εκ των δύο να τα πάρει χαμπάρι...

### 7 Ο γραπτός λόγος

Όταν πρέπει να πεις σχεδόν τα πάντα με τους 160 χαρακτήρες ενός SMS, μαθαίνεις να εκφράζεσαι λιτά και να χρησιμοποιείς συντομογραφίες. Τα φωνήεντα, το υπέρτα στίγμα, τα περὶ γράμματα και η παραδοσιακή ορθογραφία φεντάζουν και απαραίτητες συνηθειές.

### 8 Η οδήγηση

Από τη μία το κινητό σώζει ζωές. Ποιοι τραυματίες δεν θα είχαν ξεμυχήσει, αν δεν ήταν ένα κινητό που κάλεσε για βοήθεια, σρέπας μετά το ατύχημα; Από την άλλη, πόσα ατυχήματα δεν θα είχαν αποφευχθεί αν ο οδηγός του ενός ή του άλλου εκδήμιος οδηγούσε ήπως παλά; (Με τα χέρια στο τιμόνι, δηλαδή).

### 9 Ο ξανακερδισμένος χρόνος

Όταν βρίσκεσαι «καλλυμένος» σε κάποιο μπουλιόρισμο ή όταν μετακινείσαι με το τρένο ή κάποιο άλλο μέσο μαζικής συγκοινωνίας, όταν τέλος πάντων βρίσκεσαι μακριά από το γραφείο ή το σπίτι, ο χρόνος δεν τρέχει πια... Με μια κλήση από το κινητό μπορείς να προλάβεις να διορθώσεις τα πάντα.

### 10 Το μάτι του Μεγάλου Αδελφού

Τώρα πια μπορεί να δει ακόμη περισσότερο. Ποιος επιχειρηματίας, διπλωμάτης, γραμματέρας, πολιτικός, στρατιωτικός ή και ταπεινός πολίτης μπορεί να κοιμηθεί ήσυχος ότι η πορεία του από «κοιμήλη» σε «κοιμήλη» δεν παρακολουθείται και οι κλήσεις του δεν καταγράφονται;



ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ





### Αλέξανδρος, 15 ετών

Έχεις κάρτα ή σύνδεση; Κάρτα. Πόσα ξοδεύεις το μήνα; Περίπου 9 ευρώ. Πότε πήρες το πρώτο σου κινητό; Πριν από δύο χρόνια. Δηλαδή όταν ήσουν 13. Τα περισσότερα παιδιά πια αποκτούν κινητό από αυτήν την ηλικία; Ναι, πια συνήθως έτσι συμβαίνει. Σε έχει βολέψει το κινητό; Ναι γιατί μπορώ να επικοινωνώ έτσι. Κυρίως με μηνύματα. Κάθε πότε αλλάζεις συσκευή; Κάθε 1,5 χρόνο συνήθως, είτε γιατί η παλιά μπορεί να έχει κάποια μικροπροβλημάκια είτε γιατί μπορεί να μου αρέσει κάτι άλλο. Τι πιστεύεις γι' αυτούς που δεν έχουν κινητό; Καλά κάνουν από μία πλευρά για να μην τους παίρνουν οι άλλοι συνεχώς και γίνονται φορτικοί. Από την άλλη, εγώ το έχω συνηθίσει... Θα μπορούσες να ζήσεις χωρίς αυτό; Δύσκολα.

### Ειρήνη, 15 ετών

Έχεις κάρτα ή σύνδεση; Κάρτα. Πότε αγόρασες το πρώτο σου κινητό; Πριν από τρία χρόνια. Κάθε πότε αλλάζεις συσκευή; Κάθε 1,5 χρόνο. Για αλλαγή κυρίως. Θα μπορούσες να φανταστείς τη ζωή σου χωρίς κινητό; Όχι, νιώθω ανασφάλεια χωρίς κινητό, θέλω να ξέρω ότι μπορώ να επικοινωνώ με τους άλλους. Πόσα περίπου ξοδεύεις το μήνα για να μιλάς στο κινητό σου; Γύρω στα 50 - 60 ευρώ. Θεωρείς ότι ξοδεύεις πολλά; Σε γενικές γραμμές όχι. Τι πιστεύεις γι' αυτούς που δεν έχουν κινητό; Ότι πρέπει να πάρουν! Χωρίς αυτό δεν μπορείς να επικοινωνήσεις αν είσαι έξω. Και παλιότερα που δεν υπήρχαν; Επειδή ακριβώς δεν υπήρχαν δεν είχαν μπει σε αυτό το κλίμα, ενώ σήμερα θεωρείται σχεδόν απαραίτητο. Εγώ το έχω συνηθίσει γιατί από πολύ μικρή το έχω στη ζωή μου.

### Βασίλης, 15 ετών

Πότε πήρες την πρώτη σου συσκευή; Όταν ήμουν 12 χρόνων. Κάθε πότε αλλάζεις συσκευή; Κάθε 6 - 8 μήνες. Μου αρέσει να έχω συσκευές τελευταίας τεχνολογίας. Πόσα περίπου πληρώνεις το μήνα; Γύρω στα 30 ευρώ. Το χρησιμοποιώ αρκετά, για να επικοινωνώ με τους γονείς και τους φίλους μου. Κυρίως στέλνω μηνύματα. Τι πιστεύεις γι' αυτούς που δεν έχουν κινητό; Υπάρχουν; Τι αρνητικά πιστεύεις ότι υπάρχουν σε αυτόν τον τρόπο επικοινωνίας; Εκτός από τις αρνητικές επιπτώσεις που μπορεί να έχει στην υγεία μας, όλα τα υπόλοιπα θεωρώ ότι είναι θετικά.

### Ο Γιάννης δεν έχει κινητό!

«Χωρίς κινητό αποφεύγω ταιριχτά τζινγκλάκια που διασύρουν ακόμα και την πιο όμορφη μελωδία, και τοπικές δονήσεις στο παντελόνι μου που μου γεννούν παρανοϊκές φοβίες ότι ζωντάνεψε και θα με κατασπαράξει. Χωρίς κινητό ξεγλιστρώ από τη μητέρα και τη γιαγιά μου (ευλογημένες να είναι), που όταν λείπω χρειάζονται αναφορές ανά πεντάλεπτο για να σιγουρευτούν ότι δεν με πλάκωσε καμιά χιονοστιβάδα, δεν με παρέσυρε κανένα τσουνάμι, δεν με απήγαγαν εξωγήινοι για ανίερους ενδοσκοπήσεις. Χωρίς κινητό μιλάω σε ανθρώπους πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο και κινδυνεύω λίγο λιγότερο από τις επόμενες ανατριχιαστικές αποκαλύψεις της ιατρικής έρευνας. Χωρίς κινητό πρεμώ και χάνω την αίσθηση του χρόνου». **Γιάννης, 24 ετών**



## ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΚΛΗΣΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΑ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ

**Γ**ια να εντοπίσει κανείς το ξεκίνημα ενός από τα σπμαντικότερα τεχνολογικά επιτεύγματα του 20ού αιώνα, πρέπει να ταξιδέψει πίσω, στη δεκαετία του '40. Την περίοδο, δηλαδή, που η Bell έψαχνε μια λύση για να επανδρώσει τα αυτοκίνητα της αστυνομίας με ένα σύστημα ασύρματης επικοινωνίας που θα επέτρεπε καλύτερη διαχείριση των ραδιοσυχνοτήτων. Ο ιδανικότερος τρόπος ήταν η χρήση «κυψελών» (μι-

νε το πρώτο τηλεφώνημα από ένα κυψελωτό τηλέφωνο, τον Απρίλιο του 1973.

Το 1983 η Motorola κατασκευάζει το Dynatac 8000, το πρώτο κυψελωτό κινητό που βγήκε στο εμπόριο για χρήση εκτός αυτοκινήτου. Εμπνευστής του και πάλι ο δρ Κούπερ και δημιουργός του ο Ρούντι Κρόλοπ. Το Dynatac 8000 κόστιζε 4.000 δολάρια, ζύγιζε 800 γραμμάρια και επέτρεπε μισή ώρα ομιλίας. Έμεινε στην ιστορία ως «το τηλέφωνο-παπούτσι» ή απλώς «το τούβλο».

Το 1987 έκανε την εμφάνισή του και το πρώτο «ευρωπαϊκό» κινητό, πάντα στο σύστημα NMT, το Nokia Cityman. Μέχρι τα τέλη της δεκαετίας του '80 πολλά πράγματα αλλάζουν: καινούργια πρωτόκολλα επικοινωνίας θα αντικαταστήσουν τα AMPS και NMT, όλο και περισσότερες χώρες θα υιοθετήσουν κάποιο σύστημα κυψελωτής τηλεφωνίας, ενώ οι συσκευές θα μικρύνουν σε μέγεθος και σε κόστος απόκτησης. Ωστόσο, είναι η εμφάνιση της τεχνολογίας GSM που σύντομα θα γίνει σιά-νταρντ σε ολόκληρη την Ευρώπη, στις αρχές της δεκαετίας του '90, που θα εκτοξεύσει τη χρήση των κινητών τηλεφώνων. Στην Ελλάδα, θα φθά-



Ένας περήφανος πατέρας: Ο Ρούντι Κρόλοπ κρατώντας το Dynatac 8000, το πρώτο κινητό που βγήκε στο εμπόριο.

κρών πομπών ραδιοσήματος που καλύπτουν περιοχές περίπου 25 τετραγωνικών χιλιομέτρων). Όμως, τόσο η τεχνολογία της εποχής, όσο και η Εθνική Επιτροπή Επικοινωνιών των ΗΠΑ (FCC), δεν επέτρεψαν στην Bell να αναπτύξει στο βαθμό που θα ήθελε την ιδέα της.

Ήταν τελικά η Motorola - και συγκεκριμένα ο δρ Μάρτιν Κούπερ, γενικός διευθυντής συστημάτων τότε - που έκα-

σουν το 1993 μέσω της Panafon και της Teletel που εκιέμπουν στην μπάντα GSM 900. Σύντομα, το κινητό τηλέφωνο θα γίνει το ένα και μοναδικό τεχνολογικό προϊόν που ο Έλληνας θα αγκαλιάσει με ευχαρίστηση. Σε μια χώρα που η χρήση του Internet φθάνει μετά βίας στο 10%, ο αριθμός των κινητών τείνει να ξεπεράσει εκείνον που δηλώνουν οι απογραφές ως πληθυσμό...

## Άλλο τηλεφώνημα, άλλο επικοινωνία

**Μανώλης Χαιρετιάκης**, επίκουρος καθηγητής στο Τμήμα Επικοινωνίας και ΜΜΕ του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών: «Επειδή πια δεν χρειάζομαστε το σταθερό όπως παλαιότερα, είμαστε διαθέσιμοι σχεδόν παντού. Αυτομάτως, λοιπόν, καταργείται το επίπεδο ιδιωτικότητας, ενώ δύσκολα συγκρατεί κανείς για τον εαυτό του μια περιοχή που να μην είναι ιδιαίτερα προσβάσιμη σε όλους. Γενικά, κάθε νέα τεχνολογία φέρνει κάτι καινούργιο, ωστόσο αφαιρεί κάτι άλλο και δεν είναι μετρήσιμο ποιος κερδίζει».

## SMS: Η λογοτεχνία της νέας χιλιετίας!

**Μάνθος Σαντορινάκης**, λέκτορας στην Ανώτατη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών: «Εάν στη δεκαετία του '60, όπως είχε πει ο Σαρτρ, η λογοτεχνία ήταν οι εφημερίδες, σήμερα είναι τα μηνύματα SMS. Θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι αποτελούν τα σύγχρονα χαϊκού. Είναι έντονα αναπτυσσόμενος τρόπος επικοινωνίας, ιδιαίτερα των νέων, και παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον γιατί πρόκειται για καθαρό και συμπυκνωμένο λόγο ο οποίος καλύπτει όλες τις εκφάνσεις της ζωής: έρωτας, φίλια, τσακωμός, ζήλια. Πα' όλα αυτά, με ενοχλεί η προσπάθεια των διαφημιστών να αξιοποιήσουν εμπορικά αυτήν τη μέθοδο επικοινωνίας, δολοφονώντας έτσι την αμεσότητά της. Ας την αφήσουν, λοιπόν, να εξελιχθεί μόνη της. Σήμερα, ακυρώνουμε πολλές έννοιες με την υπερβάλλουσα χρήση, κάτι που συμβαίνει κι εδώ!».





## «ΟΛΕΣ ΟΙ ΠΑΡΟΡΜΗΣΕΙΣ ΜΑΣ ΙΚΑΝΟΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ»

Τάσος Σιαλίμης, αναπληρωτής καθηγητής Κλινικής Ψυχολογίας Παντείου Πανεπιστημίου.

**Μ**ε την άρση των κινητών έχει αλλάξει η οίσθηση ιδιαιτερότητας του χρόνου. Πλέον ό,τι κι αν κάνεις είσαι διακοπτόμενος. Αν μέχρι την εμφάνισή τους οι ωροχρόνοι μας -π.χ. της διασκέδασης και της δουλειάς- ήταν ξεκάθαροι, τώρα μπλέκονται. Δεν υπάρχει πλέον μέρος όπου κάποιος δεν μπορεί να σε βρει. Παρότι τα κινητά προσοδεύονται αρχικά ως ένα εργαλείο που θα μας κάνει πιο χαλαρούς και ευέλικτους, τώρα αισιαστικά μας δεσμεύουν, μας βάζουν να κάνουμε περισσότερα πράγματα, τίποτα δεν αφήνεται για αργότερα. Επιπλέον, λόγω του κόστους, αλλάζει ο χρόνος της επικοινωνίας. Μιλάμε γρήγορα και η κουβέντα δεν έχει κοινωνικό διάνθισμα, ο τρόπος επικοινωνίας είναι χρηστικός, όχι συζητητικός, δεν έχει στόχο να φτάσει μια σκέψη. Αυτό αλλάζει τον τρόπο που επικοινωνούμε, μας έμεινε με ένα φρόντο... κουκούρι. Τώρα πιο μιλάμε λίγο. Παλιότερα, το να κάνεις ένα τηλεφώνημα είχε μια διαόικασία, ήταν μια πράξη συνειδητή. Σκεφτόσουν την ώρα και τον τόπο στον οποίο τηλεφωνούσες, αυτό δεν μπορούσε να γίνει ανά πάσαν στιγμή. Τώρα είναι άμεσο, γρήγορο. Η μελέτρια που το βράδυ έβλεπε ή ζούσε κάτι και το χαϊρότον περιμένα με αγωνία την άλλη μέρα στο σχολείο να το πει στη φίλη της. Τώρα της στέλνει ένα SMS. Έτσι βιώνουμε με άλλον τρόπο τα πράγματα. Καταμιν έννοια, δεν υπάρχει πια η ανιμωνή, η αυτοσυγκράτηση, υπάρχει μόνον η ιδέη. Έχουμε κόψει το ταξίδι, απλώς διακτινιζόμαστε εκεί. Όλες μας οι παρρμίες ικανοποιούνται άμεσα. Από τη μία αυτό είναι καλό. Τώρα στη φέρτιση της στιγμής λέμε τα πράγματα που θέλουμε, ενώ εν μεσοδοόσε χρόνος μπορεί να μην τα λέγαμε ποτέ. Αυτό σημαίνει όμως ότι μπορεί να τα ξανασκεφτόμαρτον, να τα ξαναβρίσκουμε, να αποφασίζουμε με πιο καθαρό μυαλό.

Τέλος, η πολυχρηστικότητα των κινητών έχει οδνήσει και σε κάτι άλλο: το κινητό αντικαθιστά το περιολόγιό μας, είναι ό,τι πιο προσωπικό έχουμε. Εκεί φυλάμε ταλέφωνα και διαπούνσεις, σιζένια, αλλά και μηνύματα που μας στέλνουν και ισιέλινομε, ένα είδος μεσικής αλληλογραφίας. Έτσι, όταν κάποιος σπκώνει το κινητό κάποιου άλλου αυτό προδίδει είτε αγένεια, είτε ιδιαιτερη οικειότητα. Είναι με ένα τρόπο η νέα έννοια της οδανιόβουρτας, που μοιάζει με πολύ λόγιας.



### Ελένη, 23 ετών

Πότε αγοράσατε για πρώτη φορά κινητό; Το 1999. Πόσο σας κοστίζει κάθε μήνα; Παίρνω μια κάρτα των 9 ευρώ η οποία συνήθως διαρκεί περίπου ένα μήνα. Έχετε αλλάξει συσκευή; Δύο φορές. Την πρώτη μου τη χάρισα και τη δεύτερη μου έπεσε στη θάλασσα. Επιλέγοντας συσκευή, δεν με ενδιαφέρει η μόδα ούτε σκαλούμαι ιδιαίτερα με το κινητό μου, αυτό που θέλω είναι απλά να επικοινωνώ. Φαντάζεστε τη ζωή σας χωρίς κινητό; Ναι! Δεν το θεωρώ αναγκαίο, απλώς πιστεύω ότι το έχουμε συνηθίσει. Σε βεβαιώνει πολύ όταν χρειάζεται κάτι. Πίστεύετε ότι είναι ακριβός τρόπος επικοινωνίας; Εξαρτάται από το πόσο ενδιαφέρεται κανείς για το κινητό. Δηλαδή, εγώ που δεν ασχολούμαι πολύ δεν ξοδεύω πολλά. Σε γενικές γραμμές, πόντας, δεν τον θεωρώ ακριβό.



## APPENDIX III

### Questionnaire



*Γλωσσολογική Μελέτη  
για την επικοινωνία μέσω μηνυμάτων (SMS) σε κινητά τηλέφωνα*

King's College, London  
Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

Ερωτηματολόγιο

Τσεκάρετε το τετράγωνο που επιλέγετε και συμπληρώστε όπου χρειάζεται.  
(Στις ερωτήσεις με \* μπορείτε να επιλέξετε περισσότερα από ένα τετράγωνα.)

ΗΛΙΚΙΑ .....

ΦΥΛΟ Α ☐ Θ ☐

Μαθητής/-τρια Γυμνασίου ☐

Μαθητής/-τρια Λυκείου ☐

Φοιτητής/-τρια ☐

Την ημέρα στέλνω περίπου 0-2 ☐ 2-4 ☐ 4-6 ☐ 6-8  
☐ 8-10 ☐ πάνω από 10 ☐ μηνύματα (SMS).

\* Η σχέση που έχω με τα άτομα στα οποία συνήθως στέλνω μηνύματα (SMS) είναι  
επαγγελματική ☐ ερωτική ☐ οικογενειακή ☐ φιλική ☐.

Στέλνω μηνύματα (SMS) περισσότερο σε άτομα του ίδιου φύλου ☐  
περισσότερο σε άτομα του αντίθετου φύλου ☐  
εξ ίσου σε άτομα και των δύο φύλων ☐

Την ημέρα λαμβάνω περίπου 0-2 ☐ 2-4 ☐ 4-6 ☐ 6-8  
☐ 8-10 ☐ πάνω από 10 ☐ μηνύματα (SMS).

Η ηλικία των ατόμων με τα οποία κυρίως ανταλλάσσω μηνύματα (SMS) κυμαίνεται  
από ..... έως ..... ετών.

Τα άτομα με τα οποία συνήθως ανταλλάσσω μηνύματα τα συναντάω  
κάθε μέρα ☐  
2-3 φορές την εβδομάδα ☐  
1 φορά την εβδομάδα ☐  
1 φορά τον μήνα ☐  
πιο αραιά ☐

Περισσότερο απ' όλα προτιμώ να μιλάω σε σταθερό τηλέφωνο ☐  
να μιλάω σε κινητό τηλέφωνο ☐  
να στέλνω μηνύματα (SMS) ☐  
να στέλνω e-mail ☐

Κατά τη δημιουργία των μηνυμάτων (SMS) χρησιμοποιώ το ελληνικό ☐ το  
λατινικό ☐ και τα δύο ☐ αλφάβητα.

Γράφω μηνύματα (SMS) μόνο με κεφαλαία γράμματα ☐  
μόνο με μικρά γράμματα ☐  
και με τα δύο ☐

Κατά τη δημιουργία μηνυμάτων (SMS) χρησιμοποιώ συντομογραφίες και συντμήσεις  
πολύ συχνά ☐ αρκετά συχνά ☐ σπανίως ☐ καθόλου ☐.

Στα μηνύματά μου (SMS) περιλαμβάνω εικονίδια και smileys πολύ συχνά ☐  
αρκετά συχνά ☐ σπανίως ☐ καθόλου ☐.

Όταν γράφω μηνύματα (SMS), χρησιμοποιώ σημεία στίξης και τυπογραφικά  
σύμβολα πολύ συχνά ☐ αρκετά συχνά ☐ σπανίως ☐  
καθόλου ☐.

Την τελευταία φορά που έλαβα μήνυμα (SMS) στο κινητό μου,

- βρισκόμουν στο σπίτι ☐ στην τάξη / αμφιθέατρο ☐ σε μέσο μαζικής  
μεταφοράς ☐ στο θέατρο / κινηματογράφο ☐ στην καφετέρια / bar ☐  
στο δρόμο ☐ στο γήπεδο ☐ αλλού .....

- ήταν περίπου πρωί ☐ μεσημέρι ☐ απόγευμα ☐ βράδυ ☐

- \* εκείνη την στιγμή έβλεπα τηλεόραση ☐ κοιμόμουν ☐ διάβαζα ☐  
περπατούσα ☐ έτρωγα ☐ μιλούσα στο τηλέφωνο ☐ δούλευα ☐  
διασκέδαζα ☐ μιλούσα με τους φίλους μου ☐  
έκανα κάτι άλλο .....

- \* πιστεύω ότι έστειλαν το μήνυμα (SMS) για να ζητήσουν κάποια  
πληροφορία ☐ για ευχές ☐ για να μου δείξουν ότι με σκέφτονται ☐  
για πλάκα / για να με κάνουν να γελάσω ☐ για να κανονίσουν κάτι ☐ για  
να με πληροφορήσουν για κάτι ☐ για να ζητήσουν συγγνώμη ☐ για  
κάποιον άλλο λόγο .....

Στο κινητό μου έχω ενεργοποιήσει

την υπηρεσία αναφοράς μηνυμάτων (SMS) Ναι ☐ Όχι ☐

την υπηρεσία απόκρυψης του προσωπικού μου αριθμού στις εξερχόμενες  
κλήσεις Ναι ☐ Όχι ☐

την υπηρεσία αναγνώρισης των εισερχομένων κλήσεων Ναι ☐ Όχι ☐

το λεξικό T9 στη δημιουργία μηνυμάτων (SMS) Ναι ☐ Όχι ☐

Στέλνω μηνύματα (SMS) σε πρόσωπα που βρίσκονται σε κοντινή απόσταση, ενώ την  
ίδια στιγμή θα μπορούσα να τους μιλήσω πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο πολύ συχνά ☐  
αρκετά συχνά ☐ σπανίως ☐ καθόλου ☐.

Επιλέγω να είναι το κινητό μου αθόρυβο πολύ συχνά ☐ αρκετά συχνά ☐  
σπανίως ☐ καθόλου ☐,



\* γιατί βρίσκομαι σε μέρος που δεν επιτρέπεται η χρήση του κινητού ☐ δεν  
θέλω να ενοχλώ τους γύρω μου ☐ με εκνευρίζει ο ήχος ☐ για κάποιον άλλο  
λόγο .....

Επιλέγω να είναι το κινητό μου απενεργοποιημένο / σβηστό ☐ πολύ συχνά ☐  
αρκετά συχνά ☐ σπανίως ☐ καθόλου ☐  
\* γιατί βρίσκομαι σε μέρος που δεν επιτρέπεται η χρήση του κινητού ☐  
δεν θέλω να με ενοχλήσει κανείς ☐ το φορτίζω ☐  
για κάποιον άλλο λόγο .....

Κάνω αναπάντητες κλήσεις ☐ πολύ συχνά ☐ αρκετά συχνά ☐  
σπανίως ☐ καθόλου ☐  
\* για να δείξω σε κάποιον/-α ότι τον/την σκέφτομαι ☐ για να υπενθυμίσω κάτι ☐  
για να διαβεβαιώσω κάποιον/-α ότι έλαβα το μήνυμά του/της ☐ για πλάκα ☐  
για κάποιον άλλο λόγο .....

Απέκτησα για πρώτη φορά το δικό μου κινητό, όταν ήμουν ..... ετών και από τότε  
άλλαξα τη συσκευή 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ φορές.

Το μοντέλο του κινητού που έχω τώρα είναι το .....

Έχω κινητό με σύνδεση ☐ καρτο-κινητό ☐.

Η εταιρία κινητής τηλεφωνίας στην οποία είμαι συνδρομητής είναι η .....

Έχω τη δυνατότητα να στέλνω 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐  
πάνω από 5 ☐ δωρεάν μηνύματα (SMS) την ημέρα.

Τα έξοδα του κινητού μου ☐ τα πληρώνουν οι γονείς μου ☐  
☐ τα πληρώνω εγώ με το χαρτζιλίκι μου ☐  
☐ τα πληρώνω εγώ με έσοδα από κάποια μορφή  
προσωπικής εργασίας ☐

*Ευχαριστούμε πολύ για την βοήθεια και...*

Εάν θέλετε, στον χώρο που ακολουθεί αντιγράψτε ένα οποιοδήποτε μήνυμα (SMS)  
που υπάρχει αυτή την στιγμή αποθηκευμένο στο κινητό σας.

Προσοχή: Η αντιγραφή πρέπει να είναι πιστή. Δεν αλλάζουμε την ορθογραφία, τα σημεία στίξης ή  
τους χαρακτήρες (ελληνικούς ή λατινικούς, κεφαλαία ή μικρά) που χρησιμοποιούνται στο πρωτότυπο.

Στοιχεία Αποστολέα: Φύλο Α ☐ Θ ☐ Ηλικία .....

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

APPENDIX IV

Sample of Text-messages

(quoted in the thesis)

QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE

Message 1

ΠΕΣ ΚΑΝΕΝΑΝ ΠΑΙΚΤΗ ΣΤΟ cm4?Ο  
ΧΑΤΖΙΜΕΧΜΕΤΟΒΙΤΣ ΠΩΣ ΓΡΑΦΕΤΑΙ?

Questionnaire sample, male, 14-yr-old

NAME A PLAYER IN cm4? HOW IS  
*CHATZIMECHMETOVITS* SPELLED?

Message 2

Τι κάνεις?

Questionnaire sample, female, 14-yr-old

How are you?

Message 3

www.friends com Found!

Loading...

10% |||||

30% |||||||||

100% |||||||||||||

Done!

message:

OUR FRIENDSHIP Saved 4EVER!!!

Questionnaire sample, female, 14-yr-old

Message 4

ΑΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΝΕΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΑ ΕΝΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
ΟΤΙ ΕΚΑΝΕ ΕΣΕΝΑ,ΑΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΝΕΙ  
ΛΑΘΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΣΕ ΚΡΑΤΑΕΙ ΜΑΚΡΙΑ  
ΑΠΟ ΜΕΝΑ!

Questionnaire sample, male, 15-yr-old

IF GOD DOES MIRACLES, YOU ARE ONE OF  
THEM,IF GOD MAKES MISTAKES,KEEPING  
YOU AWAY FROM ME IS ONE OF THEM.

---

N.B.: In the translated texts, italics are used for transliterated Greek names and words that cannot be translated; square brackets [ ] for comments on the text and words not included in the original.



### Message 5

ΘΕΛΩ ΔΥΟ ΜΑΤΙΑ ΝΑ ΜΕ ΚΟΙΤΑΝΕ  
ΓΛΥΚΑ,ΘΕΛΩ ΔΥΟ ΧΕΡΙΑ ΝΑ ΜΕ  
ΚΡΑΤΑΝΕ ΣΦΙΧΤΑ,ΘΕΛΩ ΔΥΟ ΧΕΙΛΗ ΝΑ  
ΜΕ ΦΙΛΑΝΕ ΑΠΑΛΛΑ!ΘΕΛΩ ΕΣΕΝΑ ΖΗΤΑΩ  
ΠΟΛΛΑ;;;!!!

Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

I WANT TWO EYES TO LOOK AT ME  
SWEETLY, I WANT TWO HANDS TO HOLD  
ME TIGHT, I WANT TWO LIPS TO KISS ME  
GENTLY!! I WANT YOU AM I ASKING TOO  
MUCH?????!!!

### Message 6

You're the most treasured person for me coz now  
you're a part of my life that's why i call you ...

“LOVE” i love you.. muaahhh =)

Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

### Message 7

ΔΕΝ ΜΠΟΡΩ ΤΕΛΙΚΑ ΝΑ ΒΓΩ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ  
ΕΧΩ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΑΚΟΜΑ ΓΙΑ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΜΑ. ΘΑ  
ΒΓΟΥΜΕ ΚΑΠΟΙΑ ΑΛΛΗ ΦΟΡΑ. Ok;

I CANNOT GO OUT TODAY AFTER ALL I  
HAVE STILL LOADS TO READ. WE'LL GO  
OUT SOME OTHER TIME. Ok?

Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

### Message 8

Sikana Lamile bowama likile Umdodo jarat  
Forsakala bi... Μολις εκανες 1 Ινδιανικη  
προσευχη για να παχυνει ο κωλος σου!!! :-D  
Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

Sikana Lamile bowama likile Umdodo jarat  
Forsakala bi... You've just made an [American]  
Indian prayer that turns your ass bigger!!! :-)

### Message 9

Κίτρινα πιστόλια με φουντωτές ουρές και ροζ  
παπούτσια που κάνουν αγόνες με τους θλιμένους  
ποντικούς.

Questionnaire sample, male, 15-yr-old

Yellow pistols with bushy tails and pink shoes  
racing with the sad rats

### Message 10

Αν δεις σήμερα το βράδυ να μπαίνει απ' το  
παράθυρό σου μια λαμπερή ακτίδα του  
φεγγαριού, μην την διώξεις..... U.F.O είναι,

If you see a ray of bright moonlight coming  
through your window tonight, don't send it  
away..... It's a U.F.O, they came to take you

ήρθαν να σε πάρουν πίσω στην πατρίδα. XI!XI!!! back home. HE!HE!!!

Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

### Message 11

I see..anyway, thanks fOr yOur reply!dOnt wOrry  
il try my BEST..miss yOu friend! Take  
care!gOodnight! EnjOy yOur summer hOlidays.

Questionnaire sample, female, 15-yr-old

### Message 12

TRUST I SEEK AND I FIND IN YOU,  
EVERYDAY FOR US SOMETHING NEW,  
OPEN MIND FOR A DIFFERENT VIEW AND  
NOTHING ELSE MATTERS.

Questionnaire sample, female, 16-yr-old

### Message 13

ΘΕΛΩ ΝΑ ΠΑΩ,ΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΟΜΑ ΔΕΝ  
ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΙΠΟΤΑ ΣΙΓΟΥΡΟ 100%-ΣΤΗΝ  
ΑΝΟΙΞΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ+ ΔΕΝ ΞΕΡΩ,ΟΥΤΕ ΓΙΑ  
ΨΡΑ-ΤΨΡΑ ΓΙΑ ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΙΚΟ  
ΜΕΣΟΝ,Η'ΛΕΩΦΟΡΕΙΟ,Η' ΑΥΤΟΚ.

Questionnaire sample, female, 16-yr-old

I WANNA GO,THOUGH NOTHING IS  
CERTAIN YET-IT'S (in) *ANIKSI*+ I DON'T  
KNOW,(about the) TIME EITHER-NOW AS  
FOR TRANSPORT, EITHER BUS, OR CAR

### Message 14

«Lires» «Euro» «Yen» «Draxmes» Τελικά είσαι  
όλα τα λεφτά

Questionnaire sample, female, 16-yr-old

“Pounds” “Euro” “Yen” “Drachmas” At the end  
of the day you’re all the money

### Message 15

Έλα ρε μαλάκα τι γίνεσαι; Γύρισες από το φροντ;  
Πότε θα βγούμε και τι ώρα; Στείλε μου για να  
βγούμε. Μην ξεχάσεις να φέρεις το κασετόφωνό  
μου. Ok;

Questionnaire sample, male, 16-yr-old

*ELA RE[-particle]* Hey mate, what’s up? You  
back from school? When we going out and when?  
Text me about going out. Don’t forget to bring my  
tape-recorder. OK?



Message 16

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΓΙΩΤΟΥΛΑ!Ο ΝΤΕΝΗΣ  
ΕΙΜΑΙ.ΕΙΜΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ PASSAGIO.ΘΑ  
ΚΑΤΕΒΕΙΣ;

Questionnaire sample, male, 16-yr-old

GOOD MORNING [little] *GIOTA*!I'M  
*DENNIS*.I'M AT *PASSAGIO* WITH THE  
GUYS.WILL YOU COME DOWN HERE?

Message 17

ΑΝ ΗΣΟΥΝ ΑΣΤΕΡΙ \*, ΘΑ 'ΣΟΥΝ ΤΟ ΠΙΟ  
ΛΑΜΠΕΡΟ. ΑΝ ΗΣΟΥΝ ΛΟΥΛΟΥΔΙ  
→→@,ΘΑ'ΣΟΥΝ ΤΟ ΠΙΟ ΩΡΑΙΟ Κ ΑΝ  
ΗΣΟΥΝ ΕΝΤΑΞΕΙ,ΘΑ 'ΣΤΕΛΝΕΣ Κ ΚΑΝΑ  
ΜΗΝΥΜΑ...

Questionnaire sample, female, 16-yr-old

IF YOU WERE A STAR \*,YOU WOULD BE  
THE BRIGHTEST.IF YOU WERE A  
FLOWER,YOU'D BE THE MOST BEAUTIFUL  
N IF YOU WERE ALRIGHT,YOU'D SEND US  
A TEXT...

Message 18

ΤΙ ΕΓΙΝΕ ΝΥΣΤΑΞΕΣ Η ΜΕ  
ΒΑΡΕΘΗΚΕΣ;ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ ΡΑΔΙΟ ΑΚΟΥΩ.

Questionnaire sample, male, 17-yr-old

WHAT'S UP ARE YOU SLEEPY OR BORED  
OF ME?I'M LISTENING TO THE RADIO  
TOO.

Message 19

Hi! ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ; ΧΑΘΗΚΑΜΕ!!! ΠΑΡΕ ΤΗΛ.  
ΝΑ ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΟΥΜΕ. ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ! BYE!!!

Questionnaire sample, male, 17-yr-old

Hi! HOW ARE YOU? LONG TIME NO SEE!!!  
GIVE A RING TO ARRANGE. [little] KISSES!  
BYE!!!

Message 20

Νὰ χαΜοΓΈΛαΣ ΓίᾱΤὶ τὸ ΧὰΜΟΓΈΛο Σὸϋ ΔΈÑ  
τὸ ΈχΈι κᾱÑΕΙΣ ! ÑΑ ΈΛΠιzΈìs ΓιᾱΤὶ Η  
ΈΛΠιΔᾱ ΔιÑΈι ΖΩΗ! Κᾱì Ñᾱ ΜΗ  
ΔᾱΚΡυΣΈίΣ ΓίᾱΤὶ ΚᾱΘΈ ΔᾱΚΡυ sὸϋ Θᾱ'Ñᾱì  
Κᾱì ΔιΚᾜ ΜΟΥ

Questionnaire sample, female, 17-yr-old

Smile cause nobody has your smile! Hope cause  
hope gives life! And don't shed a tear cause every  
tear of yours will be mine too

Message 21

Η ΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΙΣΧΥΡΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΗ ΠΟΥ  
ΜΕΡΙΚΕΣ ΦΟΡΕΣ ΕΚΜΗΔΕΝΙΖΕΙ ΤΗ  
ΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΡΘΗ ΚΡΙΣΗ.ΑΝ Η  
ΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΑΙΧΝΙΔΙ,ΑΥΤΟΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΟΙ  
ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ!

Questionnaire sample, male, 18-yr-old

LOVE IS A POWERFUL FORCE WHICH AT  
TIMES ANNIHILATES REASON AND  
JUDGMENT. IF LOVE IS A GAME, THESE  
ARE THE RULES!

### Message 22

This cat,is cat,a cat,good cat,way cat,to cat,keep  
cat,an cat, idiot cat, busy cat,for cat,20 cat, second  
cat!!!! Noy [*sic*] read it all without the word  
cat.

Questionnaire sample, male, 19-yr-old

### Message 23

Κλειούλος!Τι κάνεις μωρή;Πού είσαι πάλι+δεν  
ακούς το κιν. σου;Πώς ήταν  
χθες;Χτυπήθηκες;!Θα πάμε σήμερα;Τι λέτε; Γ.

Questionnaire sample, female, 19-yr-old

*Kleioulos!*How are you *mori*?Where are you  
now+you can't hear your phone?How was it  
yesterday? Did you knock yourself out?!Are we  
going today?What do you think?G.

### Message 24

ΕΛΑ ΚΟΠΕΛΑ ΜΟΥ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ ΜΠΡΙ!ΠΩΣ  
ΠΕΡΝΑΣ;ΤΑ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ,ΤΑ ΙΣΠΑΝΙΚΑ,Ο  
ΧΟΡΟΣ..;ΕΓΩ ΜΙΑ ΧΑΡΑ!ΕΔΩΣΑ 2  
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΣΤΟ 1 ΚΟΠΗΚΑ+ ΤΟ ΑΛΛΟ  
ΘΑ ΤΟ ΔΩ ΑΥΡΙΟ!ΤΩΡΑ ΚΑΘΟΜΑΙ+  
ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ Ν ΑΡΧΙΣΟΥΜΕ :) ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

Questionnaire sample, female, 19-yr-old

HEY MY GIRL!HOW ARE YOU *bri'*[-particle]!  
HOW IS IT GOING?[How about] THE  
CLASSES,THE SPANISH,THE DANCE..?I'M  
FINE!I SAT TWO PAPERS I FLUNKED THE  
ONE+ I LL SEE ABOUT THE OTHER  
TOMORROW!NOW I M SITTING+ WAITING  
TO START :) [little] KISSES

### Message 25

“You are my girl,my supergirl” λει το  
καταθλιπτικο αυτο τραγουδι που ακουω τωρα που  
εχω ξενερωσει και συνεχιζει: “And supergirls  
don't cry”. Να το θυμασαι αυτο!

The depressing song I'm listening to now that I'm  
sober says “You are my girl,my supergirl” and  
goes on: “And supergirls don't cry”. [You should]  
remember this!

---

<sup>1</sup> I assume that *ΜΠΡΙ* '*bri*' is a rather playful and slang form of the spoken particle *βρε* '*vre*'.



Questionnaire sample, male 20-yr-old

### Message 26

Καλημερα μωρουλινι, τι κανεις; Εμεις τωρα παμε  
για δουλεια. Φιλακια!

Questionnaire sample, male, 21-yr-old

Good morning my little baby, how are you?  
We're heading to work now. [little] kisses!

### Message 27

Η ΓΗ ΠΟΥ ΠΑΤΑΜΕ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΗ, ΜΑ Ο  
ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ ΠΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΚΡΥΖΟΥΜΕ Ο ΙΔΙΟΣ!  
ΓΙ'ΑΥΤΟ ΚΟΙΤΑ ΨΗΛΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟ ΚΙ  
ΕΓΩ ΑΠΟ ΚΕΙ ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΣΤΕΙΛΩ ΤΗΝ ΠΙΟ  
ΓΛΥΚΙΑ ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ!!! \*ΜΑΚΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ\*

Questionnaire sample, male, 21-yr-old

THE LAND WE'RE STANDING ON IS  
DISTANT,BUT THE SKY WE'RE LOOKING  
AT IS THE SAME!SO LOOK HIGH AT THE  
SKY AND FROM THERE,I'LL SEND YOU  
MY SWEETEST GOODNIGHT!!!\*MANY  
KISSES\*

### Message 28

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΓΛΥΚΙΑ ΜΟΥ! Η ΛΗΔΑ ΕΙΜΑΙ  
(ΑΝΤ/ΡΟΣ) ΣΟΥ ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΚΑΛΗ  
ΣΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΥΧΙΑ! ΘΑ ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΡΕΙΣ ΓΙΑΤΙ  
ΤΟ ΘΕΛΕΙΣ ΠΟΛΥ! +ΣΟΥ ΑΞΙΖΕΙ. ΦΙΛ  
ΠΟΛΛΑ ΜΕΛΛΟΥΣΑ ΣΥΝΑΔΕΡΦΕ!

Questionnaire sample, female, 21-yr-old

GOOD MORNING MY SWEETIE! THIS IS  
*LEDA* (ANT/ROS) I WISH YOU BEST OF  
LUCK!YOU'LL DO FINE BECAUSE YOU  
WANT IT SO MUCH!+YOU'RE WORTH IT.  
MANY KIS[ses] FUTURE COLLEAGUE!

### Message 29

Για πού είμαστε σήμερα;

Questionnaire sample, male, 21-yr-old

What are we up to today?

### Message 30

Manthouli irthame Fridays pagrati gia gluko.thes  
na peraseis?

Questionnaire sample, female, 21-yr-old

[little] *Manthos* we've popped to Fridays [in]  
*pagrati* for dessert.want to come by?

### Message 31

Γεια σου Χρηστο!Εκλεισε απο μπαταρια!Τι  
κανεις;Βγηκατε;Εγω καλα!Δεν βγηκα  
τελικά!Αντε καληνύχτα!

Hi *Christo*!I run out of battery!How are you?Did  
you go out?I['m] fine! I didn't go out after all!  
*Ade*[-particle] good night!

Questionnaire sample, male, 21-yr-old

### Message 32

Ok.egw molis eftasa syntagma.tha paw kolwnaki  
na riksw mia matia k meta gia fagito.se filw

Questionnaire sample, female, 21-yr-old

Ok. i just got to *syntagma*.i'm going *kolonaki* to  
see what's going on and then for food.kiss you

### Message 33

ΣΕ ΠΟΘΩ!!!

Questionnaire sample, female, 21-yr-old

I'M LUSTING AFTER YOU!!!

### Message 34

Κουκλίτσα μου καλημέρα!Κοιμάσαι τώρα ε;Δε  
σου'στελνα μυνήματα τόσο καιρό γιατί τώρα  
έβαλα κάρτα!Δε νομίζω να σπαταλάς τη σκέψη  
σου σε άτομα ανάξια... Τέτοια ομορφιά που έχεις  
κ έξω κ μέσα γρήγορα θα εκτιμηθεί κ θα  
αγαπηθεί! Εδώ εμείς καλά! Προσπαθώ να  
ξεαγχώνω τον αδερφούλη σου! Να τα λέμε κ στο  
τηλ.! Θα σε παίρνω απ'το σπίτι μου. Φιλάκια  
πολλά μωράκι μου!

Questionnaire sample, female, 22-yr-old

Good morning [my little] doll! Are you sleeping  
now eh[-particle]? I didn't text you for so long  
because I've just bought a card!I hope you don't  
waste any of your thoughts on unworthy people...  
Your inside and outside beauty will soon be  
appreciated and loved!We're fine here! I try to de-  
stress your little brother!We should talk on the  
phone as well!I'll call you from home. Many  
[little] kisses my [little] baby!

### Message 35

ΒΡΑΖΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΧΥΝΕΤΑΙ!ΑΣΕ ΜΕ ΓΙΑΤΙ  
ΔΙΑΒΑΖΩ.ΘΑ ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ ΜΕΤΑ...

Questionnaire sample, female, 22-yr-old

PANIC [lit. something is boiling and spilling  
out]!LEAVE ME [alone] CAUSE I'M  
READING.I'LL CALL YOU LATER...

### Message 36

ΣΟΥ ΣΤΕΛΝΩ ΤΟ site ΤΟΥ ΒΑΤΙΚΑΝΟΥ ΓΙΑ  
ΤΗΝ ΚΑΠΕΛΛΑΣΙΞΤΙΝΑ:  
([http: / mv.vatican.va/3~EN/pages/MV-  
visite.html](http://mv.vatican.va/3~EN/pages/MV-visite.html)).ΦΙΛΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ

Questionnaire sample, female, 22-yr-old

I SEND YOU THE VATICAN'S site FOR  
CAPELLA SIXTINA:  
([http://mv.vatican.va/3~EN/pages/MV-  
visite.html](http://mv.vatican.va/3~EN/pages/MV-visite.html)). MANY KISSES



### Message 37

Hi might be leaving for weekend I will know in the evening.

Questionnaire sample, female, 22-yr-old

## CASE-STUDY I

### Fay and Nana

Sequence 1 case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 28/08/2003

#### Message 38

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΙΖΩ ΑΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΜΙΚΡΟ  
ΕΡΩΤΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΛΙΚΟ ΝΑΝΟΥΚΙ ΠΟΥ  
ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΟΛΛΗΤΗ ΜΟΥ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΚΑΛΑ  
ΤΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΟ?ΠΟΤΕ ΘΑ ΔΕΙΣ ΤΟ  
ΠΑΙΔΙ?ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

*texter: Fay, time: 13.50*

[I say] GOOD MORNING TO THIS LOVE-  
STRICKEN NANA OF MINE WHO IS MY  
BEST FRIEND!HOW ARE YOU?WELL WHAT  
SORT OF WEATHER IS THIS?WHEN ARE  
YOU SEEING THE BOY?[little] KISSES

#### Message 39

ΝΑΝΟΥΚΙ ΛΟΥ[sic] ΤΙ ΕΠΑΘΕΣ?ΓΙΑΤΙ ΔΕΝ  
ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ?

*texter: Fay, time: 14.10*

MY [little] NANA WHAT'S WRONG WITH  
YOU?WHY AREN'T YOU RESPONDING?

#### Message 40

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ!ΑΧ ΦΑΙΟΥΛΙ ΜΟΥ ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ  
ΘΑ ΜΕ ΑΝΕΒΑΣΕΙ Η ΜΑΜΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΓ.  
ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ!ΜΟΥ ΕΣΤΕΙΛΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑ ΜΝΗ  
ΣΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΙ ΠΟΥ ΕΛΙΩΣΑ... ΠΟΛΛΑ  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

*texter: Nana, time: 14.16*

GOOD MORNING!AH MY [little] FAY  
LUCKILY MUM IS DROPPING ME OFF AT  
ST. PARASKEVI!HE SENT ME A TEXT THIS  
MORNING THAT MADE ME MELT... MANY  
[little] KISSES

#### Message 41

ΑΝΤΕ ΤΥΧΕΡΟΥΛΙΚΟ!ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΔΕΙΣ ΤΙ  
ΤΕΛΕΙΑ ΜΑΜΑ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΕΙΣ!ΝΑ ΠΑΣ ΝΑ  
ΤΗΣ ΔΩΣΕΙΣ ΔΥΟ ΤΕΡΑΣΤΙΑ ΦΙΛΙΑ!ΕΝΑ  
ΑΠΟ ΣΕΝΑ+ΕΝΑ ΑΠΟ ΜΕΝΑ!ΚΑΛΑ ΝΑ  
ΠΕΡΑΣΕΙΣ!ΠΡΟΣΕΚΤΙΚΑ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ  
ΠΟΛΛ[sic]

*texter: Fay, time: 14.20*

ADE[-particle] LUCKY [little] YOU!SEE WHAT  
A GREAT MUM YOU'VE GOT!GO AND  
GIVE HER TWO HUGE KISSES!ONE FROM  
YOU+ONE FROM ME !HAVE FUN!TAKE  
CARE!MANY [little] KISSES

Sequence 2 case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 29/08/03

#### Message 42

ΝΑΝΟΥΚΙ ΜΟΥ, ΜΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΘΗΣΑ!ΕΙΜΑΙ  
ΕΞΩ ΠΙΣΩ ΑΠ'ΤΟ 2Ο ΔΕΝΤΡΟ!ΣΕ  
ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ! ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

*texter: Fay, time: 15.12*

MY [little] NANA,I HAVE JUST SEATED  
MYSELF!I'M OUTSIDE BEHIND THE 2ND  
TREE!I'M WAITING FOR YOU![little]  
KISSES!

#### Message 43

ΝΑΝΟΥΚΑ ΕΙΜΑΙ ΕΞΩ ΑΠ'ΤΟ ΝΤΑΚΑΠΟ

*texter: Fay, time: 15.33*

MY [little] NANA I'M OUTSIDE *DACAPO*



ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ!

Message 44

ΦΑΙΗ ΜΟΥ ΣΕ ΚΑΝΕΝΑ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟ ΘΑ  
ΕΙΜΑΙ ΕΚΕΙ!ΣΥΓΓΝΩΜΗ ΠΟΥ ΑΡΓΩ!

Message 45

ΟΚ!ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ!

AND WAITING FOR YOU!

*texter: Nana, time: 15.34*

MY FAY I'LL BE THERE IN FIFTEEN  
[minutes]!SORRY FOR BEING LATE!

*texter: Fay, time: 15.35*

OK!I'M WAITING FOR YOU!

Sequence 3 Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 01/09/03

Message 46

ΦΑΙΟΥΛΙ ΜΟΥ ΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ  
ΜΠΑΜΠΑ ΣΟΥ!ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙ ΤΟ [sic]  
ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΑ Κ ΟΛΑ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΟΥΝ ΟΠΩΣ ΤΑ  
ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ!ΕΙΔΑ ΧΘΕΣ ΤΟ ΜΩΡΑΚΙ ΜΟΥ...  
ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΗΣΩ... ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

Message 47

ThAnks NANOYKI ΜΟΥ ΥΠΕΡΟΧΟ!ΟΚ!  
ΘΑ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ!ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ ΕΧΘΕΣ ΕΙΔΑ ΤΟ  
ΜΩΡΟ ΜΟΥ ΠΟΛΥ ΩΡΑ ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ!ΤΑ  
ΛΕΜΕ ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

*texter: Nana, time: 18.30*

MY [little] FAY HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO YOUR  
DAD!I WISH ALL THE BEST [a]N[d] MAY  
ALL COME AS HE WISHES!I SAW MY [little]  
BABY YESTERDAY...I'LL CALL YOU...  
[little] KISSES

*texter: Fay, time: 18.55*

ThAnks MY LOVELY [little] NANA!ΟΚ!Ι'LL  
BE WAITING!Ι TOO SAW MY BABY  
YESTERDAY FOR A LONG TIME  
FORTUNATELY!SEE YOU [little] KISSES

Message 48

NANOYΛΙΔΙ ΜΟΥ? ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΛΟΙΠΟΝ  
ΤΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ ΓΥΡΩ ΣΤΙΣ  
ΟΚΤΩ!ΟΚ?ΕΣΥ ΕΛΑ ΠΙΟ ΝΩΡΙΣ!ΟΚ?ΘΑ  
ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ ΣΤΟ ΤΗΛ,ΤΟ ΒΡΑΔΑΚΥ?

MY [little] NANA?HOW ARE YOU?LOIPON[-  
marker] SO I'LL BE WAITING FOR YOU  
AROUND EIGHT ON SUNDAY!ΟΚ?YOU  
[can] COME EARLIER!ΟΚ?WE'LL TALK ON  
THE PHONE,IN THE EVENING?

case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 02/09/03 – *texter: Fay, time: 15.08*

Sequence 4 Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 03/09/03

Message 49

NANAAAA!ΞΥΠΝΗΣΕΣ?ΝΑ ΠΑΡΩ  
ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΟ?

Message 50

ΜΠΟΥΑΑΑΑΑ ΔΕΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑΕΙ ΤΟ  
NANOYKI ΜΟΥ!ΜΠΟΥΧΟΥ!

*texter: Fay, time: 19.37*

NANAAAA!ARE YOU AWAKE?CAN I CALL  
(you)?

*texter: Fay, time: 19.43*

BUAHHHH [crying sound] MY [little] NANA IS  
NOT RESPONDING!BUHU [crying sound]!

Message 51

NANOYKAAAAA MOY!ΣΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΑ ΠΗΓΑ  
ΚΑΛΑ!ΜΠΟΡΕΙ ΝΑ ΕΧΩ ΓΡΑΨΕΙ ΓΙΑ  
ΔΕΚΑ!ΕΙΜΑΙ ΓΙΑ ΚΑΦΕ ΤΩΡΑ ΜΕ... ΚΑΙ ΤΙ  
ΘΑ ΦΑΩ?ΚΕΙΚ ΣΟΚΟΛΑΤΑΑΣ!ΚΑΙ ΘΑ  
ΦΑΩ ΚΑΙ ΜΠΟΥΚΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΣΕΝΑ! :-)

MY [little] NANAAAAA!TODAY I DID FINE  
[in the exams]!I MAY GET AN A!I'M HAVING  
A COFFEE NOW WITH... AND WHAT AM I  
ABOUT TO EAT?CHOCOLATE  
CAAAKE!AND I'LL HAVE A BITE FOR YOU  
TOO! :-)

case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 08/09/03 – *texter: Fay, time: 18.51*

#### Message 52

OK!ΘΑ ΤΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ!ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΝΩ  
ΑΝΑΠΑΝΤΗΤΗ ΠΡΙΝ ΠΑΡΩ!ΣΕ ΛΑΤΡΕΥΩ  
ΚΑΙ ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ ΑΦΑΝΤΑΣΤΑ!ΠΟΛΛΑ  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

OK!TALK TO YOU!!I'LL MISSED CALL YOU  
BEFORE DIALLING!! ADORE YOU AND I  
MISS YOU SO MUCH [lit: unimaginably]!  
MANY [little] KISSES!

Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 14/09/03 – *texter: Fay, time: 12.16*

#### Message 53

ΤΖΟΥΤΖΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ!ΕΙΣΑΙ  
ΣΠΙΤΙ?ΝΑ ΠΑΡΩ?

GOODMORNING MY TZOUTZOUKA [metaph.  
'sweetie']!ARE YOU [at] HOME?CAN I CALL  
YOU?

case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 17/09/03 – *texter: Fay, time: 10.46*

#### Sequence 5 Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 08/10/03

##### Message 54

ΚΟΛΛΗΤΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΑΣΕ Η  
ΦΙΛΕΝΑΔΑ ΣΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΙΝΑΧΟΜΕΝΗ  
ΧΑΛΙΑ!ΕΠΙΣΗΣ ΡΙΧΝΕΙ ΚΑΡΕΚΛΕΣ!ΤΗ  
ΚΑΝΕΙΘ?ΜΙΘ ΓΙΟΥ :-)

*texter: Fay, time: 16.37*

MY [little] BEST FRIEND HOW ARE YOU!  
ASE [-particle] WELL YOUR FRIEND<sup>2</sup> HAS A  
BLOODY COLD!IT'S RAINING CATS AND  
DOGS AS WELL!HOOW ARE YOU?MISS  
YOU :-)

##### Message 55

Κ ΕΔΩ ΕΒΡΕΞΕ ΠΟΛΥ!ΔΙΑΒΑΖΩ ΓΙΑΤΙ  
ΔΙΝΩ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ... ΕΙΣΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ  
ΧΑΛΙΑ;ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΤΟΥΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ Ο  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΣ ΝΑ ΕΧΕΙ ΓΥΡΙΣΕΙ;ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ Κ  
ΜΕΝΑ ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ!

*texter: Nana, time: 16.44*

HERE TOO IT RAINED A LOT!I'M  
STUDYING CAUSE I'M SITTING A PAPER  
ON FRIDAY... ARE YOU THAT BAD?HOPE  
DIMITRIS HAS COME BACK AT  
LEAST?MANY [little] KISSES [a]N[d] MISS  
YOU TOO!

##### Message 56

ΕΙΜΑΙ ΧΑΛΙΑ,ΤΡΕΧΟΥΝ ΜΥΘΗ,ΜΑΤΙΑ,

*texter: Fay, time: 16.58*

I'M LIKE SHIT,WATERY NOSE, EYES,SORE

---

<sup>2</sup> Here, Fay refers to herself as *Η ΦΙΛΕΝΑΔΑ ΣΟΥ* 'your friend'.



ΠΟΝΑΕΙ Ο ΛΑΙΜΟΣ!ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ ΗΡΘΕ  
ΤΟ ΜΩΡΟ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΜΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΞΕΙ!ΣΕ  
ΣΚΕΦΤΟΜΑΙ!ΚΑΛΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΗ! ΠΟΛΛΑ  
ΑΜΕΤΡΗΤΑ ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

THROAT!BUT FORTUNATELY MY BABY  
DROPPED BY AND I'M OK!I'M THINKING  
ABOUT YOU!BE STRONG!LOTS AND LOTS  
OF [little] KISSES!

Sequence 6 Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 14/10/03

Message 57

*texter: Nana, time: 22.31*

Hello,hello!!! ΤΙ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΝΕΙ Η ΚΟΛΛΗΤΗ  
ΜΟΥ; ΠΩΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΥΝΑΧΙ;ΕΜΕΝΑ  
ΠΟΝΑΕΙ Η ΚΟΙΛΙΤΣΑ ΜΟΥ! ΑΡΧΙΣΑΜΕ  
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΑΣΕ!ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ! ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ  
ΠΟΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΕΙΡΑ ΓΛΥΚΑ...

Hello, hello!!! HOW IS MY MATE? HOW'S  
THE COLD?AS FOR ME MY BELLY  
HURTS!CLASSES STARTED DAMN! MISS  
YOU!MANY KISSES AND SWEET  
DREAMS...

Message 58

*texter: Fay, time: 22.34*

ΚΑΛΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ Η ΚΟΛΛΗΤΟΥΚΑ  
ΣΟΥ,ΕΤΟΙΜΑΖΕΙ ΒΑΛΙΤΣΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΣΟΥ  
ΡΘΕΙ!ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΑ ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ  
ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΛΙ ΜΟΥ!ΘΑ ΤΑ  
ΠΟΥΜΕ!ΠΕΡΑΣΤΙΚΟΥΛΙΑ!  
ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΟΥΛΑ ΣΟΥ!

YOUR MATE [referring to herself] IS  
WELL,PACKING [her] SUITCASES TO COME  
TO YOU!I MISS YOU TOO MY [little]  
BEAUTY!SEE YOU!GET WELL!GOOD  
NIGHTY!

Sequence 7 case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 16/10/03

Message 59

*texter: Fay, time: 21.00*

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ,ΙΣΧΥΕΙ Η  
ΣΥΝΑΝΤΗΣΗ?ΓΙΑΤΙ ΞΕΚΙΝΑΩ!

MY [little] BEAUTY,ARE WE UP FOR THE  
MEETING?CAUSE I M ABOUT TO LEAVE!

Message 60

*texter: Nana, time: 21.02*

ΝΑΙ ΙΣΧΥΕΙ ΜΠΡΟΣΤΑ ΣΤΗ  
ΣΤΑΣΗ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΝΑ  
ΒΡΕΘΟΥΜΕ!

YES WE RE MEETING AT THE  
STATION!MANY [little] KISSES TILL WE  
MEET!

Sequence 8 case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 13/01/04

Message 61

*texter: Fay, time: 11.01*

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ!Η  
ΚΟΛΛΗΤΗ ΣΟΥ ΕΧΕΙ ΣΤΡΙΜΩΧΤΕΙ ΤΩΡΑ  
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΒΑΖΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ  
ΧΑΖΕΥΕΙ! ΚΑΠΟΙΑ ΣΤΙΓΜΗ ΘΕΛΕΙΣ ΝΑ  
ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ, ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΒΡΑΔΥ?

GOOD MORNING MY [little] BEAUTY!YOUR  
MATE IS NOW UNDER PRESSURE AND [she]  
IS STUDYING AND AT THE MOMENT [she]  
IS DOSSING ABOUT!DO YOU WANT TO  
HAVE A CHAT [on the phone] LATER  
TODAY, SOME TIME IN THE EVENING?

Message 62

*texter: Fay, time: 17.00*

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΓΙΑΤΙ ΔΕΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ?

Message 63

ΚΑΑΑΑΛΛΑ!ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΝΑ ΕΙΣΑΙ  
ΚΑΛΑ!Σ'ΑΓΑΠΩ ΠΟΛΥ,ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ  
ΑΦΑΝΤΑΣΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΣΚΕΦΤΟΜΑΙ  
ΣΥΝΕΧΕΙΑ!ΠΟΛΛΑ ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

Message 64

ΦΑΙΟΥΛΙ ΗΜΟΥΝ ΣΤΟ ΜΑΘΗΜΑ ΟΤΑΝ  
ΕΣΤΕΙΛΕΣ Κ ΜΕΤΑ ΞΕΧΑΣΤΗΚΑ Κ ΤΩΡΑ  
ΕΙΔΑ!Κ ΒΕΒΑΙΑ ΜΠΟΡΟΥΜΕ ΝΑ  
ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ!ΟΤΑΝ ΘΕΣ ΤΗΛ. ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ Κ  
ΕΓΩ ΣΕ ΑΓΑΠΑΩ...

Message 65

ΟΚ,ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ!ΘΑ ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ ΤΟ  
ΒΡΑΔΑΚΥ ΓΙΑΤΙ ΧΑΖΕΥΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΡΑ  
ΤΡΕΛΑΙΝΟΜΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΑ  
ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΩ!ΤΑ ΛΕΜΕ! ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

MY [little] BEAUTY WHY AREN'T YOU  
ANSWERING?

*texter: Fay, time: 17.08*

WEELLLL!HOPE YOU'RE OK!LOVE YOU  
VERY MUCH,MISS YOU IMMENSELY AND  
THINKING ABOUT YOU ALL THE  
TIME!MANY [kisses] KISSES

*texter: Nana, time: 17.21*

MY [little] FAY I WAS IN THE CLASS WHEN  
YOU TEXTED ME [a]N[d] THEN FORGOT  
[about the text] [a]N[d] I'VE JUST SEEN [it]!OF  
COURSE WE CAN TALK!CALL [me] IF YOU  
WANT [little] KISSES [a]N[d] I LOVE YOU  
TOO...

*texter: Fay, time: 17.25*

OK,MY [little] BEAUTY!I'LL CALL YOU IN  
THE EVENING CAUSE I WAS MOCKING  
ABOUT AND NOW I'M FRANTIC AND I'VE  
GOT TO FINISH!TALK TO YOU![little]  
KISSES

Sequence 9 Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 13/01/04

Message 66

ΝΑ ΠΑΡΩ?

Message 67

Κ ΒΕΒΑΙΑ ΝΑ ΠΑΡΕΙΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕ ΚΑΝΕΝΑ  
ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟ ΓΙΑΤΙ ΣΤΟ ΕΝΑ ΜΙΛΑΕΙ Η ΜΑΜΑ  
Κ ΣΤΟ ΑΛΛΟ Η alex!ΠΑΡΕ ΣΤΟ 0000000000!  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

Message 68

ΟΚ!ΚΑΝΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΝΤΗΤΗ Κ ΠΕΡΝΩ [sic]!

*texter: Fay, time: 19.59*

CAN I CALL [you]?

*texter: Nana, time: 20.01*

OF COURSE YOU CAN CALL BUT IN  
ABOUT A QUARTER CUASE MOM IS  
TALKING ON THE ONE [line] [a]N[D] Alex  
ON THE OTHER!CALL AT 0000000000! [little]  
KISSES

*texter: Fay, time: 20.04*

OK!MISSED CALL ME [a]N[D] I'LL CALL  
YOU BACK!

Sequence 10 case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 21/01/04

Message 69

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ!ΕΙΣΑΙ ΚΑΛΑ?ΓΙΑΤΙ  
ΕΞΑΦΑΝΙΣΤΗΚΕΣ ΕΤΣΙ?

*texter: Fay, time: 10.55*

GOOD MORNING!ARE YOU OK?WHY DID  
YOU DISAPPEAR?



Message 70

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΦΑΙΟΥΛΑΚΙ ΜΟΥ ΤΙ ΜΟΥ  
ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΣΕ ΣΚΕΦΤΟΜΟΥΝ ΠΟΛΥ  
ΣΗΜΕΡΑ!Sorry ΠΟΥ ΔΕΝ ΕΣΤΕΙΛΑ ΑΛΛΑ  
ΗΜΟΥΝ ΛΙΓΟ ΧΑΜΕΝΗ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ  
ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΔΩΣΑ Κ ΟΛΑ ΜΙΑ ΧΑΡΑ...ΕΣΥ

*texter: Nana, time: 10.58*

HELLO MY [little] FAY HOW ARE YOU?I  
WAS THINKING A LOT ABOUT YOU  
TODAY!Sorry I DIDN'T TEXT YOU BUT I  
WAS A BIT LOST [in space] WITH THE  
ESSAY BUT I HANDED IT IN [a]N[d] ALL  
SET...YOU

Message 71

ΠΩΣ ΤΑ ΠΑΣ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΕΤΑΣΤΙΚΗ?ΜΕ  
ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗ ΟΛΑ ΚΑΛΑ;ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ ΝΑ  
ΦΕΡΕΙ Η ΜΑΜΑ ΚΑΡΤΑ ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ  
ΤΗΛ.ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΒΡΑΔΥ;ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ ΜΙΚΡΗ  
ΠΡΙΓΚΙΠΙΣΑ[sic]!

*texter: Nana, time: 10.59*

HOW ARE THE EXAMS GOING?ALL WELL  
WITH *DIMITRIS*?I'M WAITING FOR MUM  
TO BRING ME A CARD TO CALL YOU.CAN  
YOU [talk] TONIGHT?[little] KISSES LITTLE  
PRINCESS!

Message 72

ΚΑΛΑ ΠΑΕΙ!ΔΕΝ ΞΕΡΩ, ΕΠΕΣΑ ΑΠΟΤΟΜΑ  
ΣΕ ΠΙΕΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΧΩ ΠΑΙΞΕΙ!ΕΙΜΑΙ ΣΑ  
ΜΑΣΤΟΥΡΟΜΑΙΝΗ[sic] ΚΑΙ ΔΕΝ ΕΧΩ  
ΟΡΕΞΗ ΓΙΑ ΤΙΠΟΤΑ!ΑΣΕ!ΘΑ ΗΘΕΛΑ ΠΟΛΥ  
ΝΑ ΣΕ ΑΚΟΥΣΩ!ΝΑ ΤΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ ΤΟ ΒΡΑΔ  
[sic]

*texter: Fay, time: 11.02*

IT'S GOING OK!I DON'T KNOW,I'M  
SUDDENLY UNDER PRESSURE AND I'M  
FED UP!I FEEL LIKE STONED AND I DON'T  
FEEL LIKE [doing] ANYTHING!ASE[-  
particle]!I'D LOVE TO HEAR [from]  
YOU!LET'S TALK TONIGHT

Sequence 11 Case-study I, participants: Nana and Fay, day: 22/01/04

Message 73

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ!Η ΜΑΜΑ ΞΕΧΑΣΕ ΝΑ ΜΟΥ  
ΠΑΡΕΙ ΚΑΡΤΑ!ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΝΑ ΜΟΥ ΦΕΡΕΙ  
ΣΗΜΕΡΑ Κ ΝΑ ΤΗΛ.ΜΗΝ ΜΟΥ  
ΣΥΓΧΥΖΕΣΑΙ ΤΟΣΟ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ  
ΕΞΕΤΑΣΤΙΚΗ!ΚΟΥΡΑΓΙΟ! ΣΚΕΨΟΥ  
ΘΕΤΙΚΑ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

*texter: Nana, time: 11.32*

GOOD MORNING!MOM FORGOT TO BUY ME A  
CARD!HOPE SHE'LL BRING ME [one] TODAY  
[a]N[d] [I'll] CALL [you].DON'T GET SO UPSET  
WITH THE EXAMS! COURAGE! THINK POSITIVE  
[little] KISSES

Message 74

ΕΙΧΑ ΑΡΧΙΣΕΙ ΝΑ ΑΝΗΣΥΧΟ[sic] ΟΤΙ ΕΓΙΝΕ  
ΚΑΤΙ!ΜΟΥ ΕΧΕΙΣ ΛΕΙΨΕΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΟΛΥ!ΣΕ  
ΣΚΕΦΤΟΜΑΙ ΚΑΘΕ ΜΕΡΑ!ΘΑ ΘΕΛΑ ΠΑΡΑ  
ΠΟΛΥ ΝΑ Σ'ΑΚΟΥΣΩ!ΑΝ ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ!ΟΛΑ  
ΜΙΑ ΧΑΡΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ!ΕΧΟΥΜΕ

*texter: Fay, time: 11.40*

I WAS WORRYING THAT SOMETHING HAPPENED  
[to you]!I'VE MISSED YOU SO MUCH!I THINK  
ABOUT YOU EVERY DAY!I'D LOVE TO HEAR  
[from] YOU!IF YOU CAN!ALL IS WELL!WE'RE

Message 75

ΤΡΕΛΑΘΕΙ!ΔΥΣΚΟΛΑ ΤΑ ΘΕΜΑΤΑ  
ΑΣΕ!Σ'ΑΓΑΠΑΩ ΑΜΕΤΡΗΤΑ ΚΑΙ  
ΑΝΥΠΟΜΟΝΩ Σ'ΑΚΟΥΣΩ!ΠΟΛΛΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ

*texter: Fay, time: 11.41*

FREAKING OUT!THE EXAMS [are] HARD ASE[-  
particle]!I LOVE YOU LOADS AND I CAN'T WAIT  
TO HEAR [from] YOU!LOTS AND LOTS OF KISSES!

## ΑΜΕΤΡΗΤΑ ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

Sequence 12 Case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 29/02/04

Message 76

*texter: Fay, time: 00.01*

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΝΑ ΠΑΡΩ Η  
ΚΟΙΜΑΣΑΙ?ΣΟΡΙ ΠΟΥ ΑΡΓΗΣΑ ΑΛΛΑ  
ΕΜΠΛΕΞΑ!

MY [little] BEAUTY CAN I CALL [you] OR  
ARE YOU ASLEEP?SORRY FOR BEING  
LATE BUT I'VE BEEN CAUGHT UP!

Message 77

*texter: Nana, time: 00.06*

ΝΑΙ! ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕ ΠΗΡΕ Ο ΥΠΝΟΣ!

YES!! FELL ASLEEP!

Sequence 13 case-study I, participants: Fay and Nana, day: 17/04/04

Message 78

*texter: Fay, time: 21.14*

ΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΚΑ ΜΟΥ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΑΣΕ Η  
ΚΟΛΛΗΤΗ ΣΟΥ ΕΚΤΟΣ ΟΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙ ΣΑΝ  
ΠΕΝΤΑΧΡΟΝΟ,ΕΙΝΑΙ ΧΑΛΙΑ!ΙΧ!ΣΕ  
ΣΚΕΦΤΟΜΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ!

MY [little] BEAUTY!HOW ARE YOU?  
ASE[-particle]BESIDES ACTING LIKE A FIVE  
YEAR OLD,YOUR BEST FRIENDS IS A  
MESS!ICH[sigh sound]!I'M THINKING OF  
YOU A LOT!

Message 79

*texter: Nana, time: 22.30*

ΦΑΙΟΥΛΑΚΙ ΜΟΥ ΕΙΜΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΥΛΟ  
ΕΞΩ!ΑΥΡΙΟ ΝΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ ΣΤΟ  
ΤΗΛ.ΜΗΝ ΜΟΥ  
ΣΤΕΝΟΧΩΡΙΕΣΑΙ...ΚΟΥΡΑΓΙΟ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ  
ΠΑΡΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ...ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ Κ ΟΝΕΙΡΑ  
ΓΛΥΚΑ ;- ) ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ!

MY [little] FAY I'M OUT WITH  
PAVLOS!LET'S TALK TOMORROW ON THE  
PHONE.DON'T BE SAD...COURAGE!LOTS  
OF KISSES... GOODNIGHT AND SWEET  
DREAMS ;- ) I MISS YOU!

Message 80

*texter: Fay, time: 22.33*

ΑΧ,ΣΥΓΓΝΩΜΗ!ΝΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΕΤΕ  
ΤΕΛΕΙΑ!ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΜΑΤΑ!ΘΑ ΘΕΛΑ ΠΟΛΥ  
ΝΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ ΑΥΡΙΟ!Σ'ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ!ΚΑΙ  
ΜΕΝΑ ΜΟΥ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΣ  
ΑΦΑΝΤΑΣΤΑ!ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΗ  
ΔΙΑΣΚΕΔΑΣΗ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

AH, SORRY!HAVE GOOD FUN!SAY HELLO  
FROM ME!I WOULD REALLY LIKE TO  
HAVE A CHAT TOMORROW!THANK YOU!!  
MISS YOU TOO IMMENSELY!GOOD NIGHT  
AND HAVE FUN![little] KISSES



## Melina and Dimitra

Sequence 14 Case-study I, participants: Melina and Dimitra, day: 26/09/03

### Message 81

*texter: Dimitra, time: 11.18*

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΧΑΖΟ!ΠΕΣ ΣΤΗ ΤΕΡΕΖΑ ΠΩΣ  
ΠΡΟΤΙΜΩ ΝΑ ΒΡΕΘΟΥΜΕ ΑΥΡΙΟ ΤΟ  
ΠΡΩΙ,ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ ΝΑ ΠΑΡΟΥΜΕ ΚΙ ΕΜΕΙΣ  
ΜΕΤΑ ΔΩΡΟ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΝΑΝΑ!ΤΙ ΛΕΣ?

GOOD MORNING DUMMY!TELL *TEREZA*  
I'D RATHER SEE YOU TOMORROW  
MORNING,AND THEN WE [can] GO AND  
GET *NANA*'S PRESENT!WHAT DO YOU  
THINK?

### Message 82

*texter: Melina, time: 17.08*

Sto syntagma avrio stis 10:00!Ok?

At *syntagma* [square] tomorrow at 10:00!Ok?

### Message 83

*texter: Dimitra, time: 20.07*

ΜΕΛΙΝΑΚΙ ΝΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΑ 10.30  
ΣΤΟ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ ΕΞΩ ΑΠΟ ΤΑ ΜΑC ΓΙΑΤΙ  
ΕΧΩ ΚΑΤΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΕΣ ΠΡΩΙ?Ε?ΑΝ ΝΑΙ  
ΚΑΝΕ ΑΝΑΠ!

[little] *MELINA* LET'S SAY BETTER 10.30  
OUTSIDE MAC[sic] IN *SYNTAGMA* [square]  
CAUSE I GOT SOME ERRANDS TO DO IN  
THE MORNING?EH?IF IT'S OK MISSED  
CALL [me]!

## Melina and Nana

### Message 84

Ti ginetai vre orgio? Pu xenyxtas? Giati den exw  
oute ena neo otan xerw oti esy exeis...POLLA?  
Autos o xemialistis o thanos ftaiei! Ax!

What's up you *orgio*[literally 'orgy']? Where are  
you? How come I got no news when I know you  
got... SO MUCH? It's *thanos*' fault for blowing  
your mind!Ah!

Case-study I, participants: Melina and Nana, day: 29/07/03 – *texter: Melina, time: 00.34*

## Nana and Dimitra

Sequence 15 case-study I, participants: Nana and Dimitra, day: 21-22/09/03

### Message 85

*texter: Dimitra, time: 20.28*

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΚΑ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΟΛΑ  
ΚΑΛΑ?ΛΕΜΕ ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ ΑΥΡΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΨΩΝΙΑ  
ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΜΟΥ!ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΕΣΥ?ΑΝ ΝΑΙ  
ΑΥΡΙΟ ΣΤΟ ΣΤΑΘΜΟ ΣΤΟ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΑΚΙ  
ΣΤΙΣ 11.10! ΦΙΛΙΑΑ

HI [little] *NANA*!HOW ARE YOU?ALL IS  
WELL?WE'RE THINKING OF GOING  
SHOPPING TOMORROW AT *ERMOU*  
[street]!CAN YOU?IF YES TOMORROW AT  
THE STATION [in] *MONASTIRAKI* AT  
11.10!KISSEES

### Message 86

*texter: Nana, time: 20.37*

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥΛΑ ΜΟΥ!ΑΥΡΙΟ  
ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΑ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΩ Κ ΔΕΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΩ ΝΑ  
ΜΠΟΡΩ!ΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΑ ΤΑ ΠΟΥΜΕ ΕΚΕΙ!  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ...

HI MY [little] *DIMITRA*!I HAVE TO READ  
TOMORROW [a]N[d] I DON'T THINK I  
CAN!IF I MAKE IT, I'LL SEE YOU  
THERE![little] KISSES...

### Message 87

*texter: Nana, time: 10.27*

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ!ΡΕ ΣΥ ΔΕΝ ΜΠΟΡΩ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΩ  
ΓΙΑΤΙ ΔΕΝ ΘΑ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΩ ΠΟΤΕ ΤΟ  
ΔΙΑΒΑΣΜΑ!ΘΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕ! ΚΑΛΑ  
ΨΩΝΙΑ... ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ!

GOOD MORNING!*RE*[-particle] *SY*[YOU] I  
CAN'T COME CAUSE I WILL NEVER FINISH  
MY READING!SEE YOU!HAVE FUN  
SHOPPING...[little] KISSES!

## Anna and Dimitra

### Message 88

GOMENAKI STO BUS.MU'DWSE  
ISITHRIO+ME GLYKOKOITAEI.NA PAW NA  
TU KSANAMILHSW?THA SE THL JA TH  
VASW.NA THS THYMHSEIS TI ELEGE OXI  
MONO JA XOSE ALA+GENIKA JA XRONO.

FIT GUY ON THE BUS.HE GAVE ME A  
TICKET+HE'S GIVING ME THE  
LOOK.SHALL I GO BACK TO TALK TO  
HIM?I'LL CALL YOU ABOUT *VASO*.REMIND  
HER WHAT SHE USED TO SAY NOT ONLY  
ABOUT XOSE BUT+GENERALLY ABOUT  
TIME.

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 01/09/03 – *texter: Anna, time: 21.06*



### Message 89

BLAKA H VASW MAS KERDISE 8  
PROSKLHSEIS!SKEFTESAI O,TI  
SKEFTOMAI?LEPTOMEREIES DEN  
KSERW.THA DW STO www.stathmos.gr AN  
BOREIS DES K ESY!

DUDE OUR VASO WON 8  
INVITATIONS!YOU THINKING WHAT I'M  
THINKING? I DON'T KNOW THE  
DETAILS.I;LL CHECK www.stathmos.gr IF  
YOU CAN CHECK TOO.

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 24/09/03 – *texter: Anna, time: 14.24*

### Sequence 16 case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 13/01/04

#### Message 90

DEN EIMASTE KALA?PALI TO AKYRWSE  
TELEYTAIA STIGMH!DEN 8A XEI KARTA  
NA KSANAMATAYPOTHESW?DEN  
KSANAASXOLUMAI!TELOS!

*texter: Anna, time: 19.57*

I DON'T BELIEVE IT?HE CANCELLED IT AT  
THE LAST MINUTE AGAIN!SHOULD I  
THINK THAT HE S RUN OUT OF CREDIT  
AGAIN?I WON T BE BOTHERED  
AGAIN!THAT S IT!

#### Message 91

KALA.DEN KSERW.SE PAIRNW NA TA  
PUME.

*texter: Anna, time: 20.20*

WELL. I DON'T KNOW.I'LL CALL YOU TO  
TALK ABOUT IT.

#### Message 92

ΕΛΑ ΡΕ!ΤΩΡΑ ΠΗΡΑ ΤΟ ΜΗΝ. ΣΟΥ!ΠΑΡΕ  
ΠΑΡΕ!

*texter: Dimitra, time: 20.23*

ELA RE[-particles] HEY!I JUST GOT YOUR  
TEXT!DO CALL [me]!

### Sequence 17 case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 16/01/04

#### Message 93

KANONIZOYME KAMIA ΕΚΠΛΗΞΗ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ  
ΜΑΤΑ?

*texter: Dimitra, time: 18.25*

[Why don't we] ARRANGE A SURPRISE FOR  
MATA?

#### Message 94

ΝΑΙΑΙΑΙΑΙ!

*texter: Anna, time: 18.31*

YEEEEES!

#### Message 95

ΟΚΕΙΚΣ!ΤΕΛΕΙΩΝΩ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΠΑΙΡΝΩ?

*texter: Dimitra, time: 18.32*

OK[-/eiks/]!I'M FINISHING OFF AND I'M  
CALLING YOU BACK?

### Sequence 18 case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 20/01/04

#### Message 96

EIPA ME TH MELINA NA VRE8UME OLES  
THN PEMPTH MAZI!VRHKES TELIKA TO  
PASO SU XAZO?

*texter: Anna, time: 19.43*

WE SAID WITH MELINA TO GET ALL  
TOGETHER ON THURSDAY!HAVE YOU  
FOUND YOUR [student] CARD FINALLY?

Message 97

ΟΚΕΙΚΣ ΓΙΑ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ!ΡΕ ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
ΠΟΥΘΕΝΑ...ΕΧΩ ΦΡΙΚΑΡΕΙ,ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΡΕΛΗ  
ΔΙΑΔΙΚΑΣΙΑ ΝΑ ΞΑΝΑΒΓΑΛΕΙΣ ΠΑΣΟ!  
ΚΑΛΗΝΥΧΤΑ!

*texter: Dimitra, time: 19.46*

OK FOR THURSDAY!RE[-particle] [the card] IS  
NOWHERE...I M FREAKING OUT,IT S A  
PAIN TO REISSUE THE CARD! GOOD  
NIGHT!

Sequence 19 Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 21/01/04

Message 98

ΜΠΑΡΜΠΟΥΝΑΚΙ ΜΟΥ ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΑΦΟΥ  
ΘΑ ΠΑΡΕΙΣ ΑΥΡΙΟ ΒΡΑΔΥ ΡΕΠΟ ΓΙΑ ΝΑ  
ΒΓΟΥΜΕ ΔΕΝ ΘΑ ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΙ ΓΙΑ  
ΨΩΝΙΑ?ΜΕΘΑΥΡΙΟ?ΠΑΡΑΜΕΘΑΥΡΙΟ?ΘΕΛΩ  
Ψ Ω Ν Ι Α!ΒΡΗΚΑ ΤΟ ΠΑΣΟ

*texter: Dimitra, time: 18.45*

MY [little] FISH HOW ARE YOU?SINCE  
YOU'RE TAKING TOMORROW NIGHT OFF  
FOR GOING OUT YOU CAN'T MAKE IT  
FOR SHOPPING IN THE MORNING?[How  
about] THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW?THE  
DAY AFTER AFTER [tomorrow]?I WANT [to  
go] S H O P P I N G!I FOUND MY [student]  
CARD

Message 99

ANTE VRE BUGAtsula MOU,POLY  
XAIROMAI!RE EXW 8EOTRELH  
DOULEIA.DEN KSERW ENTELWS SIGURA  
GIA AYRIO.PARE ME OTAN GYRISEIS APO  
TA ISPANIKA.

*texter: Anna, time: 19.03*

HEY MY LITTLE tart, I'M SO  
GRAD!Y'KNOW I GOT A MAD AMOUNT  
OF WORK. I DON'T KNOW FOR SURE  
ABOUT TOMORROW. CALL ME WHEN  
YOU COME BACK FROM SPANISH.

Sequence 20 Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 23/01/04

Message 100

ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΝΑ 8ΥΜΗ8ΕΙΣ PU EXW  
PARKAREI?EXW ΚΑΝΕΙ ΤΟ GYRO ΤΟΥ  
TETRAGWNOU DYO FORES(!)

*texter: Anna, time: 15.28*

CAN YOU REMEMBER WHERE I  
PARKED?I'VE WALKED TWICE AROUND  
THE SAME BLOCK(!)

Message 101

ΜΗΠΩΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΝΑ ΨΑΞΕΙΣ ΣΕ  
ΑΛΛΟ ΤΕΤΡΑΓΩΝΟ?ΔΕΝ ΘΥΜΑΜΑΙ  
ΚΑΘΟΛΟΥ ΡΕ...ΑΝΤΙ ΝΑ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ ΒΟΛΤΕΣ  
ΚΑΤΣΕ ΣΕ ΕΝΑ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ ΚΑΙ  
ΣΥΓΚΕΝΤΡΩΣΟΥ!

*texter: Dimitra, time: 15.35*

HOW ABOUT LOOKING AT ANOTHER  
BLOCK?I CAN'T REMEMBER ANYTHING  
RE[-particle]... INSTEAD OF WALKING  
AROUND STAY STILL AND FOCUS!

Message 102

ΕΙΠΑ ΓΙΑ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ ΣΕ ΜΕΛΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΠΟΡΕΙ  
ΜΟΝΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ.ΚΑΙ Η ΜΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΤΙΜΑ,

I TOLD MELIN ABOUT TODAY AND SHE  
CAN [come along] ONLY DOWNTOWN. MATA



ΘΕΣ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΕΙΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ΕΔΩ Κ	PREFERS IT TOO, DO YOU WANT TO COME
ΜΕΤΑ ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ ΚΑΤΕΥΘΕΙΑΝ ΕΡΜΟΥ? Ε?	OVER [here) AFTER COLLEGE [a]N[d] THEN
	GO STRAIGHT TO <i>ERMOU</i> ? EH?

Case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 27/01/04 – *texter: Dimitra, time: 12.05*

Sequence 21 case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 21/03/04

<u>Message 103</u>	<i>texter: Anna, time: 17.59</i>
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KALA PARE OTAN 8A EISAI SPITI SOU!	WELL CALL [me] WHEN YOU GET HOME!
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<u>Message 104</u>	<i>texter: Dimitra, time: 18.05</i>
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OK!	OK!
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Sequence 22 case-study I, participants: Anna and Dimitra, day: 16/04/04

<u>Message 105</u>	<i>texter: Dimitra, time: 22.18</i>
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ΣΥΝΑΝΤΗΣΑ ΤΟ ΓΙΩΡΓΟ ΣΟΥ ΠΑΛΙ!ΤΙ	I SAW YOUR GEORGE AGAIN!WHAT A
ΠΑΙΔΙ ΚΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ...	GUY...

<u>Message 106</u>	<i>texter: Anna, time: 22.45</i>
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MALAMA?	WITH A HEART OF GOLD?
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<u>Message 107</u>	<i>texter: Dimitra, time: 22.46</i>
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OXI ΚΟΥΜΠΙ!	NO A GIG!
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<u>Message 108</u>	<i>texter: Anna, time: 22.47</i>
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ADE VRE!	COME ON [no way]!
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## CASE-STUDY II

### Elisavet and Maria

#### Message 109

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΝΑ ΕΧΕΙΣ  
ΞΥΠΝΗΣΕΙ... ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕ ΤΗΛ. ΟΤΑΝ  
ΜΠΟΡΕΣΕΙΣ. ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

GOOD MORNING *AVAPI*!HOPE YOU ARE  
AWAKE... CALL ME WHEN YOU CAN.  
[little] KISSES

case-study II, participants: Maria and Elisavet, day: 07/09/03 – *texter: Maria, time: 10.00*

#### Message 110

ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΑΜΕ ΝΑ ΒΓΟΥΜΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΙΣ 10!  
ΘΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΩ ΝΑ ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ ΣΤΙΣ 7:30! OK?  
Α! ΚΑΙ ΝΑ ΜΗΝ ΞΕΧΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΙΣ ΑΣΚΗΣΕΙΣ...  
THANKS ΑΒΑΠΗ!

WE ARRANGED TO GO OUT AROUND  
10!!I'LL POP IN TO PICK YOU UP AT  
7.30?OK?AH!AND DON'T FORGET THE  
EXERCISES... THANKS *AVAPI*!

case -study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 10/09/03 – *texter: Maria, time: 17.30*

Sequence 23 case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 20/09/03

#### Message 111

*texter: Maria, time: 12.44*

ΚΑΛΑ,Ε!ΕΓΙΝΕ ΧΑΜΟΣ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΝΙΚΟ. ΝΑ  
ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ ΤΗΛ;ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΝΑ ΜΙΑΗΣΕΙΣ?

*KALA* E[-particle] WELL!WE'VE HAD A HELL  
OF A FIGHT WITH *NIKO*.CAN I CALL  
YOU?CAN YOU TALK?

#### Message 112

*texter: Elisavet, time: 12.46*

ΕΙΜΑΙ ΚΟΜΜΩΤΗΡΙΟ Κ ΔΕΝ ΕΧΩ  
ΜΠΑΤΑΡΙΑ!

I'M AT THE HAIRDRESSER'S [a]N[d]  
RUNNING OUT OF BATTERY!

Sequence 24 case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 25/09/2003

#### Message 113

*texter: Elisavet, time: 08.11*

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ?

GOOD MORNING *AVAPI*!WHERE ARE YOU?

#### Message 114

*texter: Maria, time: 08.13*

ΑΡΓΗΣΑ ΝΑ ΞΥΠΝΗΣΩ.ΘΑ ΕΡΘΩ ΤΗ 2Η  
ΩΡΑ.

I WOKE UP LATE.I'LL BE THERE FOR THE  
2ND [class] HOUR.

#### Message 115

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΑΝ ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΕ  
ΜΟΥ ΕΝΑ DAVIDOFF ONE!

GOOD MORNING *AVAPI*! GET ME A  
DAVIDOFF ONE PLEASE!

case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria,

day: 26/09/03 - *texter: Elisavet, time: 07.44*



Sequence 25 case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 26/09/03

Message 116

*texter: Elisavet, time: 14.42*

ΚΑΛΑ,Ε!ΕΙΜΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΚΩΛΟΦΑΡΔΗ!ΘΑ  
ΦΥΓΕΙ Η ΜΑΝΑ ΜΟΥ ΓΙΑ  
ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΚΥΡΙΑΚΟ!ΓΑΜΑΤΟ ?

KALA E[-particle] WELL!I'M SO FUCKING  
LUCKY!MY MUM IS LEAVING FOR THE  
WEEKEND!FUCKING AWESOME ?

Message 117

*texter: Maria, time: 14.44*

ΘΑ ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ ΤΗΛ ΜΕΤΑ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ.ΕΙΜΑΙ  
ΣΤΟΝ ΝΙΚΟ.

I'LL CALL YOU LATER![little] KISSES.I'M  
AT NIKO'S.

Sequence 26 case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 10/01/04

Message 118

*texter: Elisavet, time: 10.31*

ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ;

GOOD MORNING AVAPI! WHERE ARE YOU?

Message 119

*texter: Maria, time: 11.46*

ΑΒΑΠΗ ΤΩΡΑ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΑ Κ ΦΕΥΓΩ!ΘΑ ΤΑ  
ΠΟΥΜΕ.ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ ΑΑΑ! Κ ΚΑΛΗ  
ΣΥΝΕΧΕΙΑ! ΣΜΟΥΤΣ

AVAPI I'M DONE NOW [a]N[d] HEADING  
OFF!SEE YOU.[little] KISSES AHHH! [a]N[d]  
KEEP GOING! SMOUTS[kissing sound]

Message 120

ΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΙ;

WHERE ARE YOU?

case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 17/01/04 – *texter: Maria, time: 10.37*

Message 121

ΣΟΥ ΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΣΗ!ΑΥΡΙΟ ΤΟ  
ΠΡΩΙ ΘΑ ΣΤΗ  
ΦΕΡΩ!ΤΥΧΕΡΗΗΗΗΗ...ΤΕΣΠΑ!ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΝΑ  
ΕΙΣΑΙ ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΑ Κ ΝΑ ΜΗΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
ΣΟΒΑΡΟ!ΑΝ ΘΕΣ ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΛ!  
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ ΑΒΑΠΗ!

I WROTE THE DEDICATION [note] FOR  
YOU!I'LL BRING IT TOMORROW  
MORNING!LUCKYYYYY...ANYWAYS!HOPE  
YOU FEEL BETTER [a]N[d] IT'S NOT  
[something] SERIOUS!CALL ME LATER IF  
YOU WANT TO![little] KISSES [to you] AVAPI!

case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 20/01/04 – *texter: Elisavet, time: 19.00*

Message 122

ΘΑ ΜΑΣ ΑΦΗΣΕΙ Κ ΕΜΑΣ ΠΑΡΑ  
ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟ!ΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΕ ΚΑΤΩ!  
ΣΜΟΥΤΣ ΑΒΑΠΗ!

SHE'LL ALSO LEAVE US A QUARTER  
TO!WAIT DOWNSTAIRS!SMOUTS[kissing  
sound] AVAPI!

Case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 22/01/04 – *texter: Elisavet, time: 13.31*

Message 123

ΣΟΡΥ ΑΒΑΠΗ!ΠΡΙΝ ΛΙΓΟ ΜΕ ΓΥΡΙΣΕ ΣΠΙΤΙ  
Κ ΜΙΛΑΓΑ ΜΕ ΤΗ ΜΑΝΑ ΜΟΥ!ΠΕΡΑΣΑΜΕ  
ΠΟΛΥ ΚΑΛΑ...!ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΠΩ ΑΥΡΙΟ  
ΖΟΥΖΟΥ!ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ Κ ΣΤΟΥΣ 2!

SORRY *AVAPI*!HE GOT ME HOME A SHORT  
WHILE AGO AND I WAS TALKING TO MY  
MOM!WE HAD A GREAT TIME...!I'LL TELL  
YOU TOMORROW *ZOUZOU*!KISSES TO THE  
2 OF YOU!

Case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Dimitra, day: 23/01/04 – *texter: Elisavet, time: 12.00*

Sequence 27 Case-study II, participants: Elisavet and Maria, day: 30-31/01/04

Message 124

ΓΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΑΒΑΠΗ Μ!ΤΙ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?ΕΓΩ  
ΚΑΛΑΑΑΑ...!ΑΥΡΙΟ 10:30 ΕΞΩ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ  
ΦΡΟΝΤ;

*texter: Elisavet, time: 20.36*

HI MY *AVAPI*!HOW ARE YOU?I'M  
FIIINE...!TOMORROW 10.30 OUTSIDE THE  
SCHOOL

Message 125

Οκ, κάτω από το φροντί. Φιλιά μαρία

*texter: Matia, time: 00.16*

Ok, [let's meet] outside school. Kisses maria

Message 126

ΔΕΝ ΘΑ ΕΡΘΩ ΑΥΡΙΟ ΑΒΑΠΗ ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ

*texter: Matia, time: 04.26*

I'M NOT COMING TOMORROW *AVAPI* [little]  
KISSES



### CASE-STUDY III

#### Kostas and Nikos

Sequence 28 case-study II, participants: Kostas and Nikos, day: 10/09/03

Message 127

*texter: Kostas, time: 16.30*

EIMAI ΣΤΗ ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ ΝΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΩ?

I'M AT *SOLO* CAN I DROP BY?

Message 128

*texter: Nikos, time: 16.32*

ΕΛΑ.ΘΑ ΡΘΕΙ+Η ΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ ΑΡΓΟΤΕΡΑ

COME.*KATERINA* LL BE HERE LATER  
TOO

Sequence 29 case-study II, participants: Kostas and Nikos, day: 11/09/03

Message 129

*texter: Kostas, time: 17.05*

ΝΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΩ ΓΙΑ ΚΑΦΕ ΤΡΕΛΕ?ΟΥ ΟΥ!

CAN I DROP BY FOR COFFEE NUTS?  
OO OO!

Message 130

*texter: Nikos, time: 17.12*

ΟΧΙ ΤΡΕΛΕ.ΕΧΩ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΕΙ ΤΗ ΜΙΑ ΑΠΟ  
ΤΙΣ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ&ΤΩΡΑ  
ΚΟΙΜΑΜΑΙ!! ΤΑ ΛΕΜΕ man ; )

NO NUTS.I'VE READ ONLY ONE OUT OF  
THE TWELVE QUESTIONS&I M SLEEPING  
NOW!!! SEE YOU man ; )

Sequence 30 case-study III, participants: Nikos and Kostas, day: 19/09/03

Message 131

*texter: Kostas, time: 10.00*

ΕΛΑ ΡΕ ΦΙΛΕ ΠΟΙΟ ΚΑΛΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟ ΕΙΧΕΣ  
ΠΑΡΕΙ ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΕΙΣ ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΙΚΑ1  
ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ?

*ELA* RE[-particles] HEY MATE WHICH WAS  
THE GOOD BOOK YOU BORROWED FROM  
THE LIBRARY TO READ FOR  
ELECTRONICS1<sup>3</sup>?

Message 132

*texter: Nikos, time: 10.00*

ΔΕΝ ΕΙΧΑ ΠΟΤΕ ΒΙΒΛΙΟ ΓΙΑ  
ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΙΚΑ1.ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΜΙΚΡΟ  
ΕΙΧΑ.ΔΙΑΒΑΣΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΙΣ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ  
ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ.

I NEVER HAD A BOOK FOR  
ELECTRONICS1.[The one] I HAD [was] FOR  
MICRO<sup>4</sup>.READ FROM *PROVATA*'S NOTES.

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<sup>3</sup> *ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΙΚΑ1* 'Electronics1' is one of the University courses which Kostas attends.

<sup>4</sup> *ΜΙΚΡΟ* 'Micro' is another course that Kostas attends at the University

## Manos and Kostas

Sequence 31 case-study III, participants: Manos and Kostas, day: 15/09/03

### Message 133

ΕΛΑ ΡΕ..Ο ΜΑΝΟΣ ΕΙΜΑΙ.ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΤΟ  
ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΕΙΣ ΝΑ ΠΑΜΕ  
ΣΤΟΥΝΤΙΟ;

*texter: Manos, time: 11.57*

ELA RE[-particles] HEY..THIS IS MANOS. CAN  
YOU COME ON SATURDAY TO GO [to the]  
STUDIO?

### Message 134

ΕΛΑ ΡΕ ΝΑΙ ΘΑ ΣΕ ΕΠΑΙΡΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ  
ΣΗΜΕΡΑ.ΜΟΝΟ ΝΑ ΜΟΥ ΠΕΙΣ ΠΟΙΑ  
ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ ΝΑ ΒΓΑΛΩ. ΤΑ ΜΕΛΕ

*texter: Kostas, time: 12.03*

ELA RE[-particles] HEY YES I WAS GONNA  
CALL YOU TOO TODAY.JUST TELL ME  
WHICH SONGS TO PREPARE.SEE YA

### Message 135

ΠΕΣ ΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΗΛ ΣΟΥ ΝΑ ΣΕ ΠΑΡΩ ΤΟ  
ΜΕΣΗΜΕΡΙ;

*texter: Manos, time: 13.00*

GIVE ME YOUR NUMBER TO CALL YOU  
EARLY AFTERNOON?

### Message 136

ΘΑ ΦΥΓΩ ΣΕ ΚΑΝΑ ΜΙΣΑΩΡΟ.9988000.  
ΠΑΡΕ ΓΕΝΙΚΩΣ ΟΠΟΤΕ ΜΠΟΡΕΣΕΙΣ ΝΑ ΤΑ  
ΠΟΥΜΕ.

*texter: Kostas, time: 13.03*

I'M LEAVING IN HALF AN HOUR.9988000.  
CALL ME ANYWAY WHEN YOU CAN TO  
CHAT.

Sequence 33 case-study III, participants: Manos and Kostas, day: 22/09/03

### Message 137

ΡΕ ΣΥ ΦΙΛΑΡΑΚΙ ΘΑ ΡΘΕΙΣ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ  
STUDIO?ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ ΝΑ ΡΘΕΙΣ ΜΕ 218?

*texter: Manos, time: 10.47*

RE[-particle] HEY YOU MATE WILL YOU  
POP BY THE STUDIO TODAY?CAN YOU  
TAKE THE 218 [bus]?

### Message 138

ΡΕ ΣΥ ΠΕΣ ΜΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΟΔΟ ΠΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ  
STUDIO ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΩΡΑ ΝΑ ΕΡΘΩ!

*texter: Kostas, time: 12.28*

RE[-particle] HEY YOU TELL ME THE ROAD  
WHERE THE STUDIO IS AND WHAT TIME I  
SHOULD BE THERE!

### Message 139

ΡΕ ΣΥ ΤΕΛΙΚΑ ΘΑ ΡΘΕΙΣ?ΑΝ ΝΑΙ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ  
ΝΑ ΚΑΤΕΒΕΙΣ ΜΕ 218 ΣΤΗ ΠΙΖΖΑ ΗΑΤ ΤΗΣ  
ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑΣ-ΣΜΥΡΝΗΣ!ΘΑ ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΕΙ  
ΤΑΣΟΣ+ΠΕΤΡΟΣ!

*texter: Manos, time: 15.41*

[re-particle] (hey) YOU WILL YOU COME  
AFTER ALL?IF YES YOU HAVE TO GET 218  
[and get off] AT PIZZA HUT IN SMIRNIS  
SQUARE!TASOS+PETROS WILL BE  
WAITING FOR YOU!